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WOMEN, PLANNING AND POLICY IN MALAWI

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Summary

This report is divided into four parts:

I. Describes some features basic to an understanding of Malawi's economy and more specifically of the role of women in the society. It shows the vital importance of agriculture to the economy and that the overwhelming majority of women are small holder subsistence farmers. It assumes that women's responsibility in this type of farming is increasing. It also takes note of the off-farm occupational categories to which women tend to be restricted and their lower level of education as compared with men. Finally, it asserts that in trying to understand the predicament of women, men's attitudes towards women must be taken into account.

II. Looks at the participation of women in planning and policy making. In the formal civil service planning machinery, women's participation is negligible. It is slightly more effective if one includes senior women who are in a position to influence policies in their ministries. In Parliament there has been a very marked increase in the number of women members during this year. In the District Development Committees their representation is stronger but there is considerable room for improvement. A fairly detailed discussion of the problems of women in these Councils and Committees and of suggestions for strengthening their participation is included. A few comments follow about women's participation at village level.

III. Focuses on plans and policies relating to women. In the 10 planning documents studied, very few references are made to women and these few are restricted almost entirely to home economics and health. In practice women's issues receive more attention than the formal documents indicate and a survey of ministries' policies, some formulated, some still in the process of discussion follows. For example, note is taken of the Ministry of Agriculture's new approaches to women farmers, education's policy of securing one-third of secondary school places for girls, the need for the Home Economics Programme (under Community Development and Local Government) to be strengthened and rethought and the training programme offered to girls by the Malawi Young Pioneers. Mention is also made of those departments and ministries which do not have any policies relating to women.

IV. Provides a list of recommendations; each recommendation is followed by a brief supporting explanation. In broad terms their aim is to heighten consciousness about women throughout Government, broaden and strengthen the information base on which policies towards women can be determined, increase women's participation at all levels of policy making and planning; expand the rather narrow perspective many officials still have of the role of women in society;promote sensitivity towards women at the level of contact between Government and the public and create structures and procedures which will eventually ensure that women and women's issues become more fully and advantageously integrated into the planning process.

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ANNEX I

ANNEX II

I. Women in Malawi; a Brief Introductory Survey

1. Malawi and Malawians

The following are some features basic to an understanding of the economy of Malawi and relevant to the role of women.

1. Malawi is a landlocked African country lying south of the equator and wholly within the tropics.

2. It is a fairly small country (94,248 square kilometres), about one-fifth of which consists of Lake Malawi.

3. No commercially exploitable minerals of any importance have yet been discovered. The economy therefore depends very heavily on agriculture, not only for food production but also for self-employment, wage employment and for exports. (Ninety percent of exports are agricultural).

4. There are marked variations in altitude, climatic conditions, rainfall and soil structure and these govern agricultural production, encouraging it in some cases and limiting it in others.

5. The country is densely populated (considerably more so than its neighbours and about four times more so than the average in Africa). This density is increasing steadily. In 1966 the de facto population was 4,039,583; by 1977 it had reached 5,547,460, resulting in an increase from 43 persons per square kilometre in 1966 to 59 in 1977.

6. The population remains overwhelmingly rural (91.7 per cent). More women than men live in the rural areas.

7. In the Northern Region land rights are exercised mainly through the male lineage by birth, while in the Southern and Central Regions it is principally the matrilineal system which dictates inheritance of land.

8. Maize is the smallholder farmers' staple crop, while tobacco and groundnuts are their principal cash crops.

9. Tobacco is the country's main export crop, followed by tea and sugar. The smallhoder sector used to produce most of the exports but today the estate sector does.

10. Men are leaving their own farms in large numbers in search of employment, which they are finding principally in the rapidly expanding estate sector. In 1966, 76 per cent of the economically active men were working full time on their own holdings. By 1977 this had decreased to 49 per cent. Consequently women's responsibility for small holder agriculture has continued to increase steadily.

11. Fifty-two per cent of Malawi's population are women. Possibily as many as 30 per cent of household heads in the rural areas are women. While 61 per cent of those who have never been married are men, 89 per cent of widows are women and 79 per cent of those separated or divorced are women.

12. Malawi has a young population (in 1977 45 per cent of the population was under 15) and consequently a high dependency ratio (0.968). 1

13. There are only two major urban centres,- the capital, Lilongwe, with a population of 102,924 and Blantyre, with 222,153. Two smaller centres which have the status of municipalities are Zomba in the South, with 21,000 and Mzuzu in the North, with 16,119 (all figures for 1977).

14. For political and administrative purposes the country is divided into three Regions (Northern, Central and Southern) and 24 Districts. There are also eight Agricultural Development Divisions which are becoming of increasing administrative relevance. There is one official political party in the country, the Malawi Congress Party, which has a women's wing, the League of Malawi Women. The League participates at all levels of Party activity, from branch level up to the National Convention.

2. Locating Women in the Economy

Women, particularly in rural areas, are normally involved in so many types of economic activity (crop production, poultry and vegetable raising, trade and marketing, food storage and preparation, home and family management, brewing, labour, etc.) that it is very difficult to find a generalized classification which satisfactorily defines their roles and responsibilites. Nevertheless, an economic classification system designed and applied by two economists at the University of Malawi provides a very sound basis for locating women in the economy. 2

Ninety-two and sixth-tenths per cent of women live in the rural areas, i.e. all areas outside of the four main urban areas. Of these, the overwhelming majority (85 per cent) are involved full-time on their own holdings in subsistence and marginal cash cropping (marginal being a net income of less than 25 Malawi Kwachas per annum). Only 3.6 per cent are engaged on their own holdings in subsistence and significant cash cropping (over K25 per annum). Slightly under 6 per cent share their time between working on their own land and providing labour part-time on intermediate size and smallholder farms (lower paid, unskilled, mainly peak season labour). One per cent are full-time estate employees in lower paid, unskilled jobs. Two and one-half per cent are considered to have no economic activity outside of the house, while 1.5 per cent are in non-agricultural family business (i.e. they are self-employed or unpaid family workers). Four-tenths of 1 per cent are engaged in professional,

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1 Information was taken from various government documents particularly from the Malawi Population Census 1977 and from J. Kydd and R. Christiansen, Structural Change and Trends in Equity in the Malawian Economy 1964-1980, Income Distribution Project Working Paper No. 2 (University of Malawi Centre for Social Research, 1981).

2 J. Kydd and R. Christiansen, The Distribution of Income in Malawi, Income Distribution Project Working Paper No. 1 (University of Malawi Centre for Social Research, 1981).

administrative, technical and managerial employment and 0.3 per cent are a hybrid group combining three categories: clerical and supervisory workers; highly paid sales and service workers and salaried and managerial full-time estate employees.

In the urban areas (i.e. the four major centres) where only a small percentage of women live, 73.6 per cent are classified as having no economic role outside of the home. Six and eight-tenths per cent are engaged full time on their own holdings, involved in subsistence and marginal cash cropping inside urban boundaries. Three and two-tenths per cent are engaged full time on their own holdings, involved in subsistence and marginal cash cropping inside urban boundaries. Three and two-tenths per cent are classified as professional, technical, administrative and managerial and 4.2 per cent as clerical, supervisory or highly paid sales and services personnel. Seven per cent are production workers and in lower paid sales and service jobs. Three per cent are family business workers and in lower paid sales and service jobs. Three per cent are family business workers and 0.8 per cent are peak season production workers. A minimal number are defined as large and small proprietors.

Women clearly make their major contribution in agriculture, predominantly so on their own lands as smallholder farmers. With men leaving these farms in very large numbers, women's responsibility in this area is growing. It should nevertheless be noted that the number of women in paid employment has been increasing quite rapidly. In 1966 11,000 women (0.9 per cent) of all economically active women were in full-time salaried employment and 9,300 (0.8 per cent) were in part-time salaried employment. By 1977 these figures had risen to 38,200 (2.5 per cent) and 84,600 (5.5 per cent) respectively. 3

3. Women's Occupations

The 1977 population census breaks down occupational categories into eight different types.

3 Kydd and Christiansen, Structural Change.

Table 1. Occupational patterns of men and women

	Percentage of Men	Percentage of Women
Professional and Technical	1.7	0.7
Administrative and Managerial	0.1	0.0
Clerical	2.1	0.4
Sales	3.4	1.0
Services	3.1	0.8
Agriculture	73.9	94.2
Production/Transport Labourer	13.1	1.6
Unclassified	2.3	1.3

Table 2. Comparative percentage of males and females in each occupational category

	Percentage of Men	Percentage of Women
Professional and Technical	74.4	25.6
Administrative and Managerial	95.1	4.9
Clerical	87.4	12.6
Sales	80.1	19.9
Services	81.2	18.8
Agriculture	47.7	52.0
Production/Transport Labourer	90.3	9.7
Unclassified	69.3	30.7

The above tables confirm what has been said so far. Women are almost totally involved in agricultural production (only 6 per cent work in any other type of occupation), and agriculture is the only occupational category where women dominate over men. In all other occupational categories women are completely outnumbered.

Going beyond categories into specific occupations, women can be found in significant proportions in the following fields only: medical and dental workers (they form 46.1 per cent of those working in this type of work); teachers (29.1 per cent); stenographers (70.1

per cent); salesmen and shop assistants (19.2 per cent); salesworkers, unclassified (24 per cent); working proprietors (service) (29.4 per cent); cooks, waiters, bartenders (28.8 per cent); maids and housekeepers (41.6 per cent); farmers (56.9 per cent); food and beverage processors (57.7 per cent); potters and glassmakers, etc. (57.9 per cent). In all other occupations, e.g. engineers, accountants, managers (wholesale and retail), clerical supervisors, farm managers, plumbers, etc., women are very rarely found. In those occupations in which a managerial level is distinguished from other levels, it will be seen that men fill 94.3 per cent of management positions and women only 5.7 per cent.

One other point should be made about the occupational pattern of women: 68 per cent of women in all occupations have no education at all and 31 per cent have some primary schooling. Only one per cent have attended secondary school and .03 per cent university. If one excludes agriculture and looks only at other occupations, it will be observed that 46 per cent of women have no education, 40 per cent have attended primary school, 13 per cent have attended some secondary school and 0.6 per cent university. 4

4. Women's Education

Sixty-four per cent of females over the age of five have never been to school. Thirty-four and nine-tenths per cent have attended some primary school (25.7 per cent having gone no further than four years). Only 1 per cent have attended secondary school and 0.3 per cent got to their final year of secondary school. Six-hundredths of 1 per cent have gone to university.

If we add to the 64 per cent who have attended no school those who have attended two years or less of school, the illiteracy rate among women stands somewhere around 80 per cent and another 5 or 6 per cent must be classified as semi-literate. (The comparative figures for men are as follows: 44.1 per cent have never attended school; 61 per cent are illiterate and 7 to 8 per cent must be considered semi-literate).

A considerable effort has been made through agencies such as the Malawi Congress Party to encourage parents to send daughters to school and this has had some positive effect. In Standard 1 in the year 1979/80 girls made up 45.7 per cent of the pupils. However by Standard 8 girls had dropped to 25.3 per cent. (The absolute numbers are worth noting: 106,430 girls in Standard 1, 16,469 in Standard 8). Twenty-three and two-tenths per cent of those who entered the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination were girls and only 19.7 per cent of those who passed it were girls. While the number of girls sitting and passing this exam has increased by about 2,500 since 1973, the actual percentage of girls in relation to boys has decreased. Observing Junior Certificate Examination results for 1972 and 1977, we see that the entry rate of girls has remained almost identical (24.4 per cent of those passing in 1972 were girls, while 25 per cent in 1979 were girls). While the pass rate for boys has improved, girls' results have deteriorated. During the years 1972/73 and 1979/80, the number of girls at secondary school increased by 1,041 but as a percentage of all pupils at secondary school it hardly

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4 Malawi Population Census, 1977.

changed: 28.4 per cent in 1972/73 and 29.5 per cent in 1979/80. 5

It can therefore be seen that there is a large gap between men's and women's educational levels and that despite efforts by the Ministry of Education (see chapter three), there has as yet been no effective reduction of that gap.

It should be pointed out, too, that the number benefiting from adult literacy courses has decreased and this mainly affects women since they consititute 90 per cent of those participating. In 1970 there were 110 Adult Literacy Centres, 1,572 students, 1,117 graduates and 44 teachers. The discontinuance of monetary assistance in 1973 (whereby the Ministry of Community Development made a small contribution towards the teacher's honorarium) clearly had a negative effect on the programme.

5. Attitudes towards Women

There is a further element which cannot be quantified but which is essential to an understanding of the predicament of women and it relates to men's attitudes towards women and the consequent self image women have of themselves. Whenever questions were raised about women in certain kinds of jobs, in participation, in education, etc., this point was raised in response. (See chapter two on women's participation in district level and local-level decision making).

Some interviewees found the source of these attitudes in culture, history or tradition. Some said it was natural. Some blamed the missionaries for aggravating the situation while others blamed Western project planners. However, it did seem generally accepted that both men and women saw men as family heads and therefore as the natural leaders, decision makers and money earners (although not breadwinners). Again and again it was explained that Malawi is a male-dominated society, and that is how it will remain. This has very important effects on men's training, etc. Women repeatedly commented that men saw them as inferiors, as second class citizens.

Two quotations illustrate this point. The first is from a senior male civil servant:

> Our custom is that women should be subordinate to men and support men. This is how it always has been and it won't change easily. We always have been a male-dominated society. Men were hunters but made most of the important decisions. Then they became migrant workers and brought home money. Ask any woman about decisions: they will talk but in the end they will say: you must ask the man. So this is a cultural thing.

The second quote is from a woman:

> Women are slotted into roles right from the start. The home role is exclusive to women. She is completely tied to it. Right from the start boys are treated differently. Boys are allowed to go out and play... Girls have to help mothers. Girls

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5 Malawi Educational Statistics, 1972/73-1979/80,1980.

are denied the pleasure of play. In the family fathers have the final word. Women just listen even if they know he is wrong and fathers teach sons that this is the man's rightful role. At home girls are told to tidy boys' rooms and do their washing; they become their servants and boys feel superior. So this is where the trouble starts, where the superiority and subordinateness begin. It becomes inherent and accounts for girls' behaviour at schools.

There were different views as to how strong these attitudes were and how fast they were changing in different parts and amongst different societies in the country. But it was generally acknowledged to be a very real factor to be taken into account in understanding women in Malawi. Both men and women also agreed that men would strongly resist changes which would undermine their position.

A final point must be made before concluding this introduction. His Excellency the Life President of Malawi, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, has gone to considerable lengths to include women in the political process and has expressed his strong support for enhancing the status of women in society. A number of women commented in both verbal and written responses that this had encouraged them and assisted them in participating more fully in decision making and in taking on greater responsibilities.

II. Women's Participation in Planning and Policy Making

1. Women's Participation in the Central Ministries

It is in the central ministries that we find the departments, agencies and personnel most directly concerned with formulation, appraisal and negotiation of projects, sectoral programmes and national plans. It is here that women could have the most direct impact if they were strategically placed, fully qualified and integrally involved in the various stages of planning.

In terms of those agencies which might be said to constitute the formal planning machinery, women's issues are not assigned any specific attention and women have no representation. There is no department which has been set up or which has been given the task of preparing projects on women or of assessing projects or plans in terms of their impact on women. Among those ministries which have planning units, there is no section which specifically deals with women's issues. Within the central planning agencies of the Office of the President and Cabinet, namely the Economic Planning Division, the Development Division and the Rural Development Division, there are also no sections dealing with women's issues.

There are, at the moment, no women in any of the three central planning agencies or in any of the ministerial planning units. (There is one expatriate woman in the Education Ministry on a short-term contract. There have been one or two Malawian women in the Agriculture Ministry in the past and one is abroad on a training course). All Principal Secretaries are men. All Deputy Secretaries (except for the Vice Chairman of the Public Service Commission, an agency which does not have planning responsibilities) are also men. In two closely related agencies, the Treasury (which bears a major responsibility for negotiating aide projects with donors) and the National Statistics Office (which provides so much of the data on which planners rely) there are also no professional women. An expatriate woman has recently joined the National Statistics Office on a short-term contract. Women's issues do not form part of her brief. In formal terms, therefore, women are effectively excluded from the planning and planning-related machinery. One therefore has to look further afield to find out how and where women influence planning in the central ministries.

In the Ministry of Agriculture there is no woman in the Planning Division or in the Evaluation Unit and no women at a high enough level to be called in to all planning and policy-making meetings. There are two women who are consulted from time to time. One is a nutritionist, a senior expatriate officer who is about to leave the country and to be replaced by a young Malawian woman graduate. The other is the Women's Programmes Officer (formerly Home Economics Officer), also a young Malawian graduate. Recently these two women have been consulted more frequently but this is because of concern with developing a nutrition programme and a new women's programme. This consultation is not in any way institutionalized or required by procedure.

In the Ministry of Education, all positions as heads of division and senior posts, three as Chief Inspectors and one as a Training Officer, are women. These are recent appointments and are seen as indicative of women's progress in the Ministry. Although these women

are in a position to influence planning within their divisions, they are not represented at top-level policy meetings. There is one young expatriate woman in the Planning Division on a short-term contract. She just happens to be there and has no specific responsibility for woman. She is in a position, however, to have a direct influence on planning in the Ministry.

In the Ministry of Labour there are no women at all in any of the medium to senior level posts, and women therefore have no part in planning here.

In the Ministry of Community Development and Housing, there is no planning unit. Here there are two women who head divisions, one for Home Economics and one for Adult Literacy, who are fully included in the planning and policy-making processes. This is the most clearly established example of women's participation in any of the ministries.

In the Ministry of Social Welfare (a small Ministry with no planning unit), the Under-Secretary is a woman and she is definitely fully involved in policy making.

In the Ministry of Health, the planning unit has no woman but the senior nurse is in a position to influence decisions.

In the Ministry of Youth and in the Ministry of Local Government, there are no women at senior levels.

Looking at the situaion in this less formal way, it can be seen that while a few women do have some direct and regular influence on planning, their influence is very limited by both their small numbers and the rather traditional women's areas to which they are still restricted: mainly home economics, related topics, adult literacy, social welfare and health.

2. Women's Participation in Parliament

At the opening of the February 1981 session of Parliament there were (excluding officials) a total of 88 Members of Parliament: 15 cabinet ministers and 73 ordinary members (with 14 seats vacant). Eight of the 73 seats were filled by women (i.e. 11 per cent). During the session, His Excellency the Life President appointed an additional 24 women to Parliament, increasing their number to 32 out of 96 seats filled (i.e. 33 per cent). This is a notable increase and women potentially have a far greater opportunity to make an impact on the parliamentary process.

I studied both the debates and the questions and found no marked difference in emphasis in the contribution made by men and women. Questions posed by women dealt with clinics, roads, housing, offices for civil servants in the districts, buses, telephones, chilbuku taverns, Malawi Young Pioneer bases, girls' boarding schools, etc. Considering their number, women were still relatively quiet in Parliament; however, with experience and making full use of question time, they will be able to raise issues and problems with the ministries.

Civil servants were asked about the effect of parliamentary questions on planning. There were, of course, different views but it

did seem that ministers did take these seriously and quite regularly urged their ministries to try to respond. In no case has this had anything like a significant effect on policy directions but it does influence decisions on smaller projects. While this is a limited area for affecting planning, women will be able to make their wishes felt in the selection and in decisions on minor projects.

3. Women's Participation in Local Councils

There are 34 Councils in Malawi (two City, two Municipal, six Town and twenty-four District Councils). Each area is divided into wards and elections are organized under party supervision. Since the last elections, Councillors have been required to satisfy certain educational requirements, (at least Standard 6 plus and English exam in the rural areas and completion of primary school in the urban areas).

There are 625 wards. At the time of this study, 548 (87.7 per cent) were filled by men, 30 (4.8 per cent) by women and 47 (7.5 per cent) were vacant, principally because nominees had failed to satisfy the educational requirements. Half of the 34 Councils had no women at all.

In Urban Councils the figures for 132 wards were: 103 (78 per cent) men, 22 (16.7 per cent) women and 7 (5.3 per cent) vacant; in District Councils in 493 wards there were 445 men (90.3 per cent), 8 (1.6 per cent) women and 40 (8.1 per cent) vacant. In the Northern Region there was only one woman Councillor (0.7 per cent) out of 135; in the Central Region 11 (4.9 per cent) out of 224 and in the Southern Region 18 (6.8 per cent) of 266 wards. It is clear therefore that despite a campaign to encourage the election of women very little headway has been made. While the overall situation is unsatisfactory, it is far worse in the districts than in the urban areas and in the north than in the centre and south.

While interviews were conducted on the subject of women Councillors, the discussion which follows is based on responses to questionnaires sent to all women Councillors and Clerks of Council. The response rate from the former was 79 per cent and from the latter 59 per cent.

When respondents were asked why so few women were elected, lack of education was given as the chief reason closely followed by lack of experience and men's negative attitudes. Other points raised included the following: women lack confidence, are afraid, are not interested and lack encouragement; men do not nominate women, people generally do not recognize that women are able to serve as Councillors; the majority of educated women are civil servants (including teachers) and these are not allowed to stand and it is in the nature of Malawi society that women have too many responsibilities as wives, mothers, and in their careers and so have very little time to do the job of Councillor properly if at all.

Respondents were asked whether they thought more women should serve on the Councils and why. Over 90 per cent of the women said yes. The strength of this response and the reasons given are worth noting. The main reasons women answered yes to the above questions were as follows:

1. There are certain women's activities (e.g. under-five clinics, adult literacy, health and home economics) that women understand better and can deal with better than men. They are more knowledgeable and more interested in these topics and thus have a special contribution to make;

2. So that women can gain experience in administration and organization and get used to working with men;

3. To teach men that women are not lower human beings and get them used to the idea of women making decisions and leading;

4. To help overcome the shyness and lack of confidence experienced by one or two women heavily outnumbered by men;

5. Women not only represent women; they also represent children's interests;

6. To give an example to all women that women can participate and take an important role.

Respondents were asked what steps should be taken to increase the number of women on Local Councils. The following were among the more important recommendations:

1. There should be increased propaganda and education through the Party, village headmen and government officers to encourage women to stand, to stress the importance of women's serving on Councils and to emphasize to the electorate women's capacity to serve;

2. In various ways, women should be encouraged to participate in party activities as this is where they learn public speaking, leadership, organization, etc.;

3. The numbers of girls attending schools should be increased and they must stay longer or women will never be able to participate fully;

4. The voting system should be altered so that women are elected in greater numbers;

5. Able and educated women should be identified, approached beforehand and encouraged to stand.

Respondents were asked whether they thought their participation was satisfactory. Sixty-five per cent of the women felt that their participation was fully satisfactory, while the rest felt there was room for improvement. Except for three of the women, all said they understood the procedures, and all except four said they understood all the issues. Types of obstacles mentioned were as follows:

1. Being alone I lack confidence to argue with men;

2. I do not have enough time because of my job and family responsibilities;

3. I have trouble with financial reports and financial issues;

4. Men do not take us seriously in the Council.

All of the women served on Committees of the Council, most commonly on the Finance and Health Committees, followed closely by the Establishment Committee.

When respondents were asked in which issues they were most interested, health issues were mentioned most frequently by a considerable margin, followed, in order, by finance, staff questions, education and community development. When asked on which issues they had spoken most, health was even more predominant, followed by finance and development projects. When respondents were asked in which topics women were more interested than men, home economics was most frequently listed, followed by clinics, schools, self-help projects and education for children.

When asked to suggest ways in which their effectiveness in the Council could be enhanced, respondents made the following suggestions:

1. I must express the problems of my ward to the Council more effectively;

2. I must take more women's problems and requests to the Council;

3. I must visit my ward and hold meetings more often;

4. Meetings should be held on Saturdays or on a day convenient to the working woman. Otherwise, long notice must be given so that she can inform her employer;

5. Women must be given more responsibilities, as chairmen or secretaries of Committees of the Council;

6. We need more women on the Councils to give us more confidence;

7. We need short courses and training in local Government to assist us;

8. I need help with transport because it is very difficult to get to meetings, especially in the districts.

Clerks of Council were then asked the same questions. When they were asked why so few women were elected to Councils, the most commonly cited responses were:

1. Lack of education. Younger, more educated women often do not want to participate. They generally go to towns. More mature women, who may be interested, lack education;

2. Cultural/traditional barriers. The feeling is still strong that women should remain in the home; that women do not need to go to school for as long a time as boys; that women cannot compete with

men; that women cannot take part in public life as effectively as men and that men should not support women for elections;

3. Attitudes of men. Women tend to be looked down upon by men who see them as second-class citizens, who are inferior and weaker;

4. Attitudes of women. Men's attitude are reflected in those of women. They see themselves as inferior to men and as a result do not want to compete; they lack courage and confidence in public and fear assuming high responsibilities.

When Clerks of Council were asked whether they thought more women should be elected to Councils, ninety per cent of the responses were in the affirmative. The most commonly expressed reasons were:

1. To fully represent women in the Council, as women make up half of the population;

2. There are subjects closely related to women's interests which are important to the Council but in which men are not interested and therefore easily miss;

3. Women Councillors can assist more effectively than men in encouraging and motivating women in self-help projects, adult literacy, education of children and home management;

4. Women spot problems in the villages more quickly;

5. Women are approached more by people in their wards;

6. This is the only way for women to gain experience;

7. Women contribute so much to self-help projects that they need and deserve more representation.

When asked what steps should be taken to increase the number of women on Councils, Clerks of Council made the following suggestions:

1. Educate the electorate to the need for women Councillors;

2. Educate women to stand and participate; help them change their self-image;

3. Educate men to change their attitudes and stop looking down on women;

4. Reserve a number of places for women and appoint the most able women to them;

5. Educate girls in all areas, in the same way as boys;

6. Allow women employed by Government, particularly teachers, to stand for Council;

7. Increase adult literacy for women.

When asked whether they thought women's participation in Councils was satisfactory, forty per cent of the Clerks of Council said fully satisfactory, fifty per cent said fairly satisfactory but could be improved and 10 per cent said not really satisfactory. Thirty-three per cent said women did not understand all the procedures and 39 per cent said that women did not understand all of the issues discussed. While this amounts to a reasonably positive evaluation, it does show that the Clerks of Council see considerable room for improvement.

The most frequently mentioned factors which were said to limit women's participation were:

1. They are outnumbered and therefore unable to express themselves;

2. They are shy in debates, shy about making mistakes and lack courage and confidence;

3. They cannot concentrate fully because of domestic and maternity demands;

4. They have more limited experience than men and therefore cannot debate as well as men;

5. Cultural beliefs about the superiority of men exist in the Council;

6. They have difficulty with financial and legal issues and some are scared of technical and even political issues.

When asked in which issues women showed most interest, they answered, in descending order: home economics, education, health and sanitation, community development and self-help, child care, adult literacy and water supplies.

When asked on which issues women spoke most competently, they answered, in order, with the first three being mentioned most frequently: home economics, health and health projects, education and school projects, community development and self-help projects.

There are a couple of differences of emphasis here worthy of mention. The Clerks see the women as most interested in home economics, whereas the women do not mention this as an interest at all. This does suggest that the great interest which men always say women have in home economics is as much (or more) a result of men's own lack of interest in the subject and of their stereotyping of women as having no interest in finance, whereas the women themselves place finance among their main interests.

Finally, when the Clerks of Council were asked to suggest ways in which women's participation in Councils could be made more effective, by far the most frequently expressed need was said to be for leadership courses. The courses should include: public speaking, preparation for meetings, conduct of meetings, standing orders, the role of Local Councils, relationships with staff, responsibilities of Councillors, etc. Other suggestions include the following:

1. Elect more women to Councils;

2. Prepare a handbook for Councillors containing the sort of information suggested above for leadership courses;

3. Let them know they are not there for women's affairs only or else they will become indifferent to other issues and their participation will be reduced;

4. Women teachers should be allowed on Councils;

5. Relieve women of some of their domestic duties so that they have greater freedom of movement;

6. Arrange visits to places of interest in order to broaden their experience.

4. Women's Participation in District Development Committees

Disrict Development Committees represent a different form of district level participation, the main aim of which is to initiate and supervise implementation of development projects at a modest level. The membership of these Committees is composed of a combination of local political leaders (Party representatives, Members of Parliament and representatives of Local Councils) and district level government officials. The District Commissioner serves as chairman. Three different categories of women may be found on these committees: three representatives of the League of Malawi Women (sometimes one of the three representatives of the League of Malawi Youth is a woman), women MPs and women government officials like community development assistants.

The size of the District Development Committees varies. The Kasungu District Development Committee has 63 members, four of whom are women but it is unusually large. Most District Development Committees have between 24 and 36 members, between four and six of whom are women.

Questionnaires were sent to women members and to District Commissioners. Thirty-nine replies were received from an estimated total of 120 to 130 women, representing a response rate of approximately 30 per cent. Considering that these women were dispersed throughout the country, some in very remote areas, this was considered satisfactory. All three regions and 13 districts were represented. In addition, all three categories of women members were represented: 22 members of the League of Malawi Women, one from the League of Malawi Youth, 10 Members of Parliament, two community development assistants, two social welfare assistants and one teacher (one woman did not clarify her position). The questions asked were similar but not identical to those asked of members of Local Councils.

In answer to the first question, do you think there should be more women on District Development Committees and why, about 87 per cent of women responded in the affirmative. Three main types of reasoning emerged from their explanations:

1. This would reduce the isolation and shyness felt, partly because of their being so heavily outnumbered. It would increase the women's confidence and freedom to talk. Women could help each other more and their collective voice would be more effective;

2. There are certain issues which need women's attention because men are unaware or uninterested. By increasing the number of women, more information would be available about women and more women and more women's problems and requests could be raised;

3. It would make the District Development Committee a more effective representative body because it would strike a better balance between men and women, provide an opportunity for a wider variety of women, and women from a greater number of areas would be represented.

In answer to the question should there be more women representing Central Ministries on the District Development Committees, just under 84 per cent of the women said yes. The following points were made in support of this:

1. Since these women have greater technical and financial knowledge, they could make a more effective contribution on women's issues and on behalf of women;

2. They would impart more information and useful advice to other women on the District Development Committees than their male counterparts were inclined to do;

3. Because they have worked in other districts, they bring with them a more varied experience;

4. They are in a position to bring issues and problems relevant to women to the attention of their ministries effectively and quickly.

In answer to the question, is your participation on the District Development Committee satisfactory, just under 80 per cent said their participation was fully satisfactory; the rest felt there was room for improvement. All appeared to understand all procedures and issues. This constitutes a very positive response but requires some qualification. First, it conflicts in tone with the first two responses above. Second, the few District Commissioners who did respond were more critical. Third, seven of the eight women who felt their performance was not fully satisfactory were among the most highly educated of the group. There are three possible reasons for this: they are more critical or realistic in assessing their performance; they lack the political women's public debating experience or they are new to the Committees as MPs.

To the question in which issues are you most interested, respondents answered, in order of frequency: schools and teachers' houses; self-help and rural development projects; rural development and development subjects; health, sanitation and clinics; boreholes and water supply projects; homecraft programmes; under-five clinics and child care; bridges.

When asked on which issues they felt most competent to talk, t
women answered, in order of frequency: homecraft programmes; schoo
and teachers houses; boreholes, wells and water supplies; heal
clinics; self-help projects; planning and development issues; you
week projects.

When asked on which issues they had actually talked most, wom
responded, in order of frequency: homecraft programmes; scho
blocks and teachers' houses; clinics; boreholes, wells and wat
supplies.

When asked in which topics women showed more interest than m
the main ones were: homecraft programmes, clinics of all kinds a
water supply projects. Others included: adult literacy, chi
health and welfare, schools, family planning, development of wom
and play groups. As with women Councillors, one sees again th
while homecraft programmes are by no means women's principal inte
est, it is the topic they talk most on. It is very possible th
women make their main contribution here not becasue it is their ma
interest but because of men's lack of interest and because men expe
it of them and leave it to them.

When asked to suggest ways in which their participation could
made more effective, women's most common suggestions were:

1. Women need courses and seminars on development topics, co
mittee work, etc.;

2. Women must attend more regularly;

3. There should be more women to reduce the feeling
isolation;

4. Sometimes there should be a woman in the chair;

5. Women should be given more opportunities to talk;

6. Women must make a greater effort to find out more abo
women in the rural areas and raise their problems in the Distri
Development Committees.

Only seven (29 per cent) of the District Commissione
responded to the questionnaire. This represents too small a numb
to use for a detailed discussion. Nevertheless, a few comments fo
low. Although they expressed general satisfaction with women's pe
formance in the District Development Committees, the Distri
Commissioners were more critical and found more weaknesses than t
women themselves. Mention was made of apathy, failure to atte
regularly, failure to argue with men and their small number being
disadvantage. They also strongly supported the idea of more wom
and more trained women from the central Government serving on t
District Development Committees. They stressed the need for so
kind of training in order to improve the participation of women me
bers and the need for women District Development Committee members
make more contact with village level women in action groups and sel
help committees.

5. Women's Participation at Village Level

This is not only a very complicated topic but it is also one which is possibly outside the strict terms of reference of this study. The topic was discussed with civil servants and with women farmers near Zomba and a few related questions in the questionnaires discussed above were included. The responses given provide some insight into this subject and these are discussed here.

In all four sets of postal questionnaires respondents were asked whether women participate sufficiently in decision making at the village level. About 50 per cent of women Councillors, 70 per cent of Clerks, 80 per cent of women members of District Development Committees and 45 per cent of District Commissioners said yes. Those who replied positively supported their views with the following sorts of observations:

1. Women attend village meetings in large numbers;

2. The League of Malawi Women is well organized and women influence decisions through it;

3. Women's voice has influence because women do most of the implementing;

4. Women recognize people's suffering more quickly than men.

Those who replied negatively mentioned the following types of problems:

1. Tradition is very strong and men always lead. Decisions are seen as a man's job; he is the family head and must make decisions;

2. Women are not invited or do not attend meetings;

3. Women are not members of any committees;

4. Women are overburdened with domestic chores;

5. Girls leave school too early for a number of reasons, including parental attitudes, early pregnancies and marriages; consequently there are not enough educated women to contribute effectively;

6. Women feel shy and inferior and fear that they will not be listened to; they feel that their role is to be submissive and to abide by men's decisions. These variations in opinion derive not only from different perceptions and evaluations but also from experiences in different parts of the country.

Four different levels of participation are discernable. In the Lilongwe Land Development Programme, the best and longest established of the large integrated development projects, there is a complex set of committees, Section Planning Committees, Unit Planning Committees, Group Planning Committees, which join together at the top in a committee responsible to the headquarters of the project. Although this system has been relatively effective, it is too elaborate and expensive and is not being transferred to any other areas.

The experience in this case was that in open elections, wome were not elected to the bottom tier and therefore were excluded fro all levels. The project therefore decided to require that a certai number of women be included on all committees. At the lowest level out of 14,400 places open to men and women only 50 (0.35 per cent were elected. At the unit level, out of 720 places open to men an women, only 10 women (1.3 per cent) were elected. At the lowes level, nominated women total 4,320 (23 per cent of the total) and a unit level there are 160 (or 18.2 per cent). Recently some wome have taken executive positions and this constitutes an improvement In general, however, there are many of the characteristic weaknesse and reluctances on the part of women which have been mentioned above

A second category is that covered by another large-scal project, the Karonga Agricultural Development Division in the north This project did not set out to establish the same kind of elaborat network, leaving it to different ministries to establish the norma array of committees - self help, school, action group, health literacy, etc. The experience here, as far as women are concerned is that they have been overlooked almost entirely. A number of fiel workers and supervisors said that in the north women play no role a all on committees, except for the party committees.

A third type can be found in areas (and examples were given o on-going project areas in the Central Region) where the committe structure is almost entirely absent. Obviously in this case neithe men nor women were participating.

A fourth type, represented by the area around Zomba, was a nor project, general extension area, without all the physical and perso nel support of a project. Here there appeared to be a considerabl amount of self-help activity, committees were formed for this purpos and women were generally included on committees, although they wer always in the minority. It seemed there was considerable room fo increased participation by women. The pattern appeared to be tha committees were selected before meetings rather than at meeting that the main decisions were taken before the meetings and that o or two women might be called on to speak but these were invariabl officials of the League of Malawi Women. It was rare that a woman the audience contributed.

Clearly, there were other typologies and there could be mixtur within areas. A number of people gave opinions on this topic; a f representative opinions were:

> Women at the village level are very uneducated. Th have not attended school or very little school. Their ou look is very traditional; their emphasis is on customs a ancestors and the past. In this situation, men are sti responsible for leading and taking decisions.
>
> Women do get onto committees but their representati is too low. Action Groups exist in practice in some area particularly project areas, but only in theory in others.
>
> With Action Groups people can nominate and vote f members. Very few women get nominated or elected. M think that men are very important, and women accept th they are less important. Further, many women have

schooling. Also men travel much more and know much more and can talk more confidently. If a woman speaks at a meeting, she is likely to get elected. If a woman gets elected they quite often don't turn up. Sometimes they are not interested or uncomfortable to sit amongst men or their husbands don't like it. The Life President's taking women out of the villages to visit Blantyre helps them; travel gives confidence.

Even though they are underrepresented, they exert influence. They suggest where to build and when it is convenient. They do most of the work and therefore influence how it is done. A few will emerge as leaders and organizers, and they have influence.

Respondents were also asked what could be done to improve the participation of women at village level. The 89 responses produced numerous and varied suggestions. The following ideas arose most frequently:

1. More women should be included on all village level committees. If this is not possible by open elections, the number of women on all committees should be prearranged and these places should be filled by nominating capable women;

2. Women should be selected for training. The Ministry of Community Development should increase its leadership courses for women at this level;

3. Adult literacy programmes for women should be expanded;

4. Councillors, the Party, village headmen, community development assistants, etc. should encourage women to participate and educate men to accept the idea that women should play a full part in decision making;

5. In agricultural and homecraft classes more leadership training aspects should be included;

6. Women should be given a chance to speak and they should be encouraged to stop relying on women who are members of the Party to talk for them. Government officers should make a special effort to see that women are asked and to provide a helpful atmosphere for this. Women should not be interrupted;

7. Women should have their own committees on which they can speak and make suggestions. This will help overcome their shyness. Then their suggestions could be raised at a higher level.

III. Plans and Policies Relating to Women

Chapter three focuses on government plans, policies and practices affecting women. Part one examines the way in which women and women's issues are dealt with in official government planning documents. Part two is less formal and looks at plans in the making, that is, policies at various levels of formation and finality. Some are already decided but most are in the process of formation and are still subject to debate and experimentation.

1. Plans in the Planning Documents

Ten planning documents were studied. Among these were volumes one and two of the Government of Malawi Development Programme 1979/80 - 1981/2 (1979). Except for one very slim document produced in the early years after independence, Malawi has not made use of the type of medium-term planning documents so common among African Governments. Instead, it has relied on three-year rolling public investment programmes. These are the principal planning documents. They deal in summary form with all government projects intended for implementation during the three-year period covered. Women are mentioned under the headings described below:

Heading 070: Community and Social Development

There are four projects in which women are specifically mentioned: the Macoha Rural Vocational Rehabilitation Training Centre, the New Community Development Training Centre at Mzuzu, the New Women's Hostel and Home Economics Teaching Block at Magomero and Save the Children Fund New Headquarters. In each case the projects link women to home economics objectives; for example, the second of the four aims is to provide training facilities for women in home economics in the Northern Region to meet the increasing demands for home economics training and courses in the Region.

Heading 071: Education

Under the Ministry of Education, the Second IDA Project has as an objective the expansion of girls' secondary schools in order to enable more girls to be admitted to secondary boarding schools. This will increase the number of girls successfully completing secondary education, thus enabling them to participate more fully in the social and economic life of the nation. The project aims to improve and expand facilities at seven secondary schools. The summary does not mention numbers. While this project does emphasize girls, it seems to be counterbalanced by British-aided projects in secondary education where all the new hostels (approximately seven for each 120 pupils) are for boys, while the girls receive assistance with three or four home economics units.

Heading 72: Government Buildings

A new hostel for women is included as a major part of expenditures for the extension of the Staff Training College.

Heading 74: Health

All projects include maternity wards but besides this no special attention is given to women.

Heading 77: Agriculture

In all of the project summaries, women are mentioned only once and that is under the National Resources College which promises an intake of a certain number of farm home instructresses.

Statement of Development Policies 1971/1980 (140 pages)

This is a key policy and planning document which lays down guidelines for the decade. It contains the following chapters: Development strategy; Proposals for exports; Agricultural policy; Transport and communication; Industry and trade; Manpower, education and training; Health; Community, community development and housing; Public finance and national income and outlay. In this whole document, only the section on community development mentions women or a women's programme and then with the greatest brevity. On page 106, the following two paragraphs are found:

> The Department operates at the village level, for the personal involvement of every villager in efforts to improve his own way of life and standard of living; thus enabling him/her to acquire the maximum social and economic benefit arising out of government development programmes.
>
> Of necessity, the training programme must receive a fairly high priority as must the home economics programme, which is directed at the smallest unit in the social structure, the family unit.

Malawi Yearbook 1978 (180 pages)

All government departments are covered by the annual collection of reports. Only two make reference to women. The Community Development Department reports on the number of homecraft workers trained and attending refresher courses as well as the number of homecraft workers in the field, the number of women's groups and the number of women in these groups. It also reports on the training of female community development assistants and on the introduction of home management courses. The Health Department reports on the establishment of maternity facilities and ante-natal and under-five clinics.

National Rural Development Programme (108 pages, plus 12 annexes and numerous tables)

This is also a key document, providing a broad national blueprint for agricultural development and covering strategies, objectives and structures. No significant attention is given to women. Under structural arrangements at headquarters, nutrition and women's programmes are mentioned. Under health services note is made of ante-natal services, mother and child clinics and of homecraft workers providing health education especially on nutrition, child care and hygiene. In annex two, entitled Recommended Format for Regular Reports, there is a minor suggestion that the number of

women's groups formed should be used as an indicator of development interests.

Ministry of Community Development, Statement of Development Policies and Objectives (1980)

Under specific aspects of policy, note is taken of training of personnel in the Ministry's four programmes, one of which is home economics. Concerning home economics, the statement says (p.4):

> The Ministry realizes that individual families form the basis of the nation's socio-economic structure and that therefore women have a prime reaponsibility. Their full participation in homecraft activities must therefore lead to improved living standards and national development. The programme involves the teaching of women throughout the country in organized groups. Subjects that are taught in this programme include food and nutrition, child care, housing and home improvement, village health and sanitation, textiles and clothing, poultry keeping and vegetable growing.

Ministry of Community Development, Five-Year Development Plan 1981/2 - 1985/6

Again the only reference to a women's programme is under home economics. On page 10, the planned number of trainees and courses are given.

Malawi, Integrated Functional Literacy Pilot Programme (M. Husain), 1979 (77 pp. plus appendices)

The proposals, which aim at providing functional literacy (initially within three major agricultural project areas) with specific target groups in mind, single women out for special attention. Again it is clear that women are considered only in terms of home economics and health subjects. For example, although the recommendations constantly refer to the utility of the programme, especially in enhancing the impact of the extension programmes of the agricultural projects, wherever they discuss women they return to the same traditional areas. On page 36, in a discussion of the Lakeshore Rural Development Programme, the recommendation is as follows:

> The literacy programme for women should be built around subjects like health and sanitation, home improvement, food and nutrition, child care, textiles and clothing, the management and development of family resources, vegetable growing and poultry keeping and other items of special concern to women. The community development homecraft workers and the farm home instructresses of the Lakeshore Rural Development Project should constitute the main teaching personnel of the women's education programme. For the men's literacy programme, primary school teachers, [agricultural] extension workers and progressive farmers should be encouraged to offer their services to teach and for which they should receive remuneration.

Similar examples can be found on pages 7 and 49.

National Health Planning, Malawi, 1973-1988 (J. Bierdrager et al.), 1971, primarily consisting of an annex (267 pp.) entitled National Health Plan 1973-1988

This plan concerns itself with all aspects of health in Malawi over a 15-year period. Women are not considered as a policy issue but they receive attention in two respects: as a vulnerable group, particularly during pregnancy and soon after giving birth and as the people responsible for bringing young children to clinics. They are therefore the target group of nutrition education. For example, the following is quoted from page 183:

> In the area of diseases of childhood and infancy as well as motherhood, a strong division of maternal and child health will be established in the headquarters of the Ministry of Health. This division will also be responsible for health and nutrition education. The division will co-ordinate all maternal and child health activities at present being undertaken by government institutions, missions and district and municipal councils in under-five clinics and ante-natal clinics.

District Development Committees (1969), (89 pp.)

This is a handbook to assist members of these Committees to carry out their duties and to contribute to the planning and implementation of projects in the districts. Apart from the requirement that representatives of the League of Malawi Women sit on these Committees, the booklet makes no further reference to women.

Economic Report 1981 (87 pp.)

This annual survey of the economy includes 12 chapters, only a few of which could be expected to contain any references to women. These are chapters five (Agriculture and natural resources), eight (Commerce and industry) and nine (Employment, earnings and social welfare, including education and manpower requirements). Health, a subsection of Chapter nine, refers to ante-natal clinics and the Maternal and Child Health Programme. This is the only reference to women.

It is clear from the above that women have received very little attention in the formal planning documents and what reference to them exists is limited almost entirely to home economics and health. This neglect would emerge far more poignantly if all of the relevant areas in which they are ignored were emphasized: in agricultural project after agricultural project; in the rural growth centre projects; in small-scale industrial development and so on. This clearly points to a serious omission to which those who prepare these documents should give urgent attention in the future. It should not be assumed, however, that there is a direct relationship between the extent of the omission and a genuine lack of concern. While still a very long way from being integrated satisfactorily or advantageously into planning and policy making, women and policies on women do receive somewhat more attention than these documents would suggest.

2. Policies of Ministries

Printed official planning documents present a very limited view of government policy. Policy, taken as a totality, is a far more complex, dynamic and adaptable phenomenon. This section therefore goes beyond the documents to investigate policies (both formulated and in the process of formulation) and practices of various ministries towards women. It is based mainly on interviews with government officials at the central, regional and district level but also on supporting documents.

A. Agriculture

For a number of reasons the Ministry of Agriculture receives more attention than others. Roughly 90 per cent of women in Malawi live in rural areas and participate in agricultural production. Of those ministries whose policies have a direct bearing on women, the Ministry of Agriculture attracts the most development capital. Further, at the time of this study, there was a relatively lively debate going on within the Ministry itself about policies towards women. The outcome of this debate, and the policies eventually put into practice, will have an important influence on other ministries operating in the rural areas.

While there is a willingness in the Ministry to reassess its policies, the outcome of this process is still unclear for there are still strong differences of approach towards women in agriculture. Many issues were raised during the interviews and answers were often quite long and complex. Some of the main themes which arose are described below.

Women's Contribution to Agriculture

Those interviewed very seldom referred to the few labour studies available, and the few who did considered the methodology used questionable and the conclusions therefore impressionistic. They are nonetheless important because they represent the evaluations of people who are influencing and determining policy.

It was generally accepted that almost all ongoing domestic tasks are carried out by women and these included tasks such as food storage, food preparation, poultry keeping and vegetable growing. It was also accepted that women did considerably more work than men in the production of food crops. There were differences about cash crops. One view held was that, in general, men did more work than women in cash crop production; another view, while acknowledging that men took more interest in and responsibility for cash crops than food crops, argued that this did not mean that they actually did more work. It was also thought that men took more responsibility for technical tasks. Some felt this resulted from men being more adept at understanding technical advice because they had had more education and more exposure to technical information and experience. Others argued that this was the natural effect of an extension strategy which directed all technical advice to men. A third view held that this formed part of a well- established pattern of men doing the more interesting work and women the more routine work.

It seemed to be generally accepted that women make the greater contribution to agricultural production, and this was the case even in male headed households. Since 25-30 per cent of households are headed by females, the extent of the women's contribution becomes yet more clear.

Information on Women

It was acknowledged by all that little information about women in agriculture was being collected and that which was available was not being used. Not everyone agreed that more information was necessary. One argument held that since the husband-wife relationship was a partnership, it would not be helpful to separate statistics along the lines of sex. Information, which is expensive to collect and has its own opportunity costs, should not therefore be wasted in this way. Others had given it no thought and simply could not see any point in asking qestions about women. Some were unenthusiastic but ready to be convinced if the real value of such data could be demonstrated. Yet others agreed that there was a need to improve data on women and a number of people (particularly those involved in evaluation of agricultural programmes) were ready to do this.

There is a certain amount of information available, for example from the regular annual surveys and from the previous National Sample Survey of Agriculture, and there will be considerably more available when the present National Sample Survey of Agriculture is completed. The extent to which the data on women from this latest National Survey are extracted and how they are used will depend on the directions given to the National Statistics Office, the Agro- Economic Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Evaluation Officers in the eight Agricultural Development Divisions. There are other methods of collecting information: by expanding the information requirements on the forms completed by Agricultural Extension Officers, by special surveys based on interviews with women farmers, etc.

Diffusion of Agricultural Advice to Women

This is a significant issue because of its direct bearing on the need to increase agricultural extension and training for women. There are two parts to the question. The first concerns the restraints on a male extension officer visiting women farmers. Most people said that cultural constraints operate strongly to prevent a man visiting a woman. This would immediately raise suspicion among the villagers and so reduce the officer's credibility in the village. It was thought that if the male farmer were present, he would be insulted if he were bypassed; if he were away at the time he would tend to be very suspicious of the purpose of the visit. A few people felt that this was not a serious problem and could be overcome without too much difficulty, if handled with care.

The second question relates to the extent to which men who receive extension advice or training pass this advice on to their wives. One view was that in the main men keep the information to themselves. It was thought that this was a man's subject and formed part of men's talk. If the man passed on anything at all, it would be more in the nature of an order than a clearly explained piece of advice. The contrary view was that men generally do pass on the information because it is in their interest to do so. It was thought

that younger men and men engaged in commercial farming were ready to do so.

Agricultural Training and Extension for Women

The established policy of the Ministry of Agriculture is that agricultural training and extension should be directed at men, while the training which women receive should consist primarily of home economics. This means that field staff of the Ministry deal primarily with men farmers. As regards training, the following Day Care Training Centre course contents indicate the nature of the breakdown.

Table 3. Breakdown of course hours

General agriculture	Hours	Home Economics	Hours
Crop husbandry	17	Nutrition and cookery	18
Animal husbandry	9	Home improvement	16
Horticulture	15.5	Laundry	8
Land husbandry	9	Child care	7
Farm management	9	Family health education	7
Family health education	8	Needlework and handicrafts	24
	-----	Horticulture	14
	67.5	Poultry keeping	7
		Crop storage	6

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Similar differences are found at the more advanced Residential Traning Centres and Farm Institutes. The Lilongwe Agricultural Development Division also has similar guidelines. A number of people said that this was not adhered to strictly and gave examples of women (it was always admitted that they were few in number) attending the general agricultural courses and of cases where more agriculture had been introduced into home economics courses.

The premise on which this division is based is still firmly held by many senior officials. Simply put, it is that the man, as family head, is the main decision maker, supervisor, overseer and farm manager. It is therefore natural to direct attention to him since it will be easier for him to convince the woman than for her to convince him. The woman's role is still seen as primarily in the home. One senior official acknowledged that women did most of the agricultural work but argued that this was the problem to be overcome, not the starting point on which to base policies. His view was that until men returned to the land and expended their energies on the soil, production would remain unsatisfactory.

The opposing argument, which is gaining some support in the Ministry, is that since women do most of the agricultural work they must therefore be more fully motivated and encouraged to increase production through agricultural training and advice. Overlooking their contribution amounts to neglecting the key productive factor in the rural areas. Not only do women do most of the work but it is asserted that their decision-making responsibilities are far greater than is officially understood.

Role of the Ministry's Female Extension Staff

There are four types of female extension staff. In terms of length of training and status they are in ascending order: farm home assistants (formerly instructresses) who receive a year's training at Thuchila Farm Institute, consisting of roughly one- third agriculture and two-thirds home economics courses; technical assistants who do a two-year course at Colby College, consisting of roughly two-thirds agriculture and one-third home economics training; technical officers who undergo a three-year diploma programme at the University's Bunda College, primarily in agriculture, and professional officers who complete a four-year degree course, primarily in agriculture, at Bunda College.

With few exceptions, these officers are attached to training centres where they invariably teach home economics. They are not used as extension officers and they very rarely teach agriculture. Some of these women, particularly at the more senior levels, complained about wasting their agricultural training, their restriction to home economics and the consequent disadvantage to them in terms of promotion, since promotion examinations are based mainly on agriculture. Furthermore, homecraft workers and female community development assistants are taught these subjects as well and therefore not only was there the danger of duplication but excessive attention was being given to this one aspect of rural women's lives. Also, if women extension officers assisted in the field this would have been helpful as there was a shortage of men. It might help to ease communication with women farmers and it would keep the officers themselves up to date on current agricultural problems and issues. Rather than being used for one rather peripheral task, these women would be involved in the core aspects of the Ministry's work.

The arguments against this were as follows: it was pointless to place women in agriculture until the Ministry had filled all home economics posts. Extension work involved irregular and long hours, uncomfortable trips, frequent absences from home, etc., which many women were not prepared to accept. Male farmers would resent receiving advice from women and the effect of the advice would therefore be reduced. Because of the problems caused by marriage (such as loss of women staff or frequent transfers), it was dangerous and wasteful to rely too much on female staff.

Credit for Women

Little definite information was available on the number of women receiving credit. Some people estimated that women might make up 10 per cent or less of those receiving credit, while others were more optimistic. The Lilongwe Land Development Programme was asked if it could carry out research on this matter. It turned out that of 56,355 people receiving credit, 4,199 (or 7.45 per cent) were women. Clearly, if women make up 25-30 per cent of household heads, they are receiving less than a fair share, even if one does not consider wives as having any rights.

The Ministry itself and the Agricultural Development Divisions do not keep records of women receiving credit and claim to have no policy on credit. In practice, they do have a policy, which discriminates against married women. They would claim that this is justifiable because of the problems that could arise (and have arisen

in the past), if the husband is unaware of the credit, interferes with it, abuses it or takes the benefits of it or if there is a divorce. It was found that one answer was to make the husbands sign the credit agreements together with or on behalf of the wives; another was to prohibit married women from receiving credit. Most people interviewed did not see this as a major issue and had not given it much thought. Only those few officers closely concerned with structuring a new women's programme felt that this policy must be reassessed and that ways should be found to ease women's access to credit.

Content of the New Women's Programme

The Ministry agreed that the home economics programme should be replaced by a women's programme. Some senior officers held the view that this would mean nothing more than the old programme in new clothes. Others warned that the segregation of women implied by this programme could isolate them further from the mainstream of the Ministry's work. These are very real dangers.

At the time of writing, the final content and structure of the programme had not been finalized but the Women's Programme Officer had fairly clear ideas as to where it should be directed and a number of steps had been taken. In terms of organization, it is agreed that the old Home Economics Division will be replaced by a women's programme and that the former Home Economics Officer will be renamed the Women's Programme Officer. Instead of being under Extension and Training, where it is felt men receive more attention than women, it is now to be a separate section with its own direct line of communication to and from the field. It is to have its own budget which gives it greater autonomy and flexibility; for example, it is now easier to arrange courses and seminars. The career structure for female field officers has been changed to give them more opportunities for promotion and leaving them less dependent on their male colleagues.

A paper entitled A women's programme policy has been prepared. The main points are as follows:

1. Recruitment of women farmers to general agricultural courses at training centres shall be increased (a minimum of 30 per cent attendance is the provisional aim);

2. The agricultural content of the home economics courses delivered by the Ministry to women shall be increased to 50 per cent;

3. Increased access to credit by women shall be promoted;

4. Appropriate income-generating activities (both agricultural and non-agricultural) will be encouraged where feasible;

5. The home economics component of women's extension will include more appropriate nutrition education, consumer education and rural technology;

6. Farm home assistants and female technical and professional officers will be increasingly involved in training and extension of the core subjects of agricultural production;

7. Refresher courses will be arraged to assist female staff in preparing for this change, and changes will be made in existing training programmes and in the courses proposed to be taught at the Natural Resources College when it commences operation.

B. Development Division, Economic Planning Division

and Rural Development Division

These three divisions, in the office of the President and the Cabinet and in combination, perform the sort of function similar to that of central planning and development agencies in other African countries. At the bureaucratic level, any central influential directive on women and planning should emanate from one of these agencies.

In practice, none of them has any policy at all on women. Their view is that the ministries must invest money as they think best and their job is to evaluate their proposals in terms of government policies, put them in order to clear them and assist in negotiating them. They also assist in monitoring progress but women are not regarded as a criterion of assessment. The Treasury, which plays a key role in negotiating aid for projects, also has no policy on women.

There are two obvious effects of this non-policy. The first is that, for the time being at least, it is up to the ministries to determine policies on women and integrate women's issues into project formulation and evaluation processes. The second is that the National Statistics Office and all those agencies responsible for the evaluation, research and generation of data are under no pressure from central economists and planners to furnish and analyse information about women.

C. Education

While the Ministry of Education and Culture does not have a broad, clearly-defined policy concerning girls and women, it does have a specific policy objective of trying to increase the number of girls at primary and secondary school. The serious gap in education between men and women has been pointed out above. Inequalities in all other fields relate directly to this. The Ministry is therefore taking affirmative action to try to remedy the situation.

For some years there has been a policy of encouraging parents to send girls to primary school. Party leaders in particular have been making this appeal. There are positive results and in 1980/81, girls made up 45.7 per cent of children in Standard 1. From Standard 2 onwards their numbers begin to decline steadily, and this requires further attention.

At the secondary level, the Ministry's policy is to ensure that one-third of all places are taken by girls. In open competition based on standards being achieved at present, girls would not secure anything like this proportion of places. At certain selected boarding schools, half of all places are reserved for girls. Further the Ministry is encouraging the expansion of girls' schools and recently six girls' boarding schools were expanded.

There is a strong view that girls do best in segregated boarding schools. Someone said: "they have a 25 per cent survival rate at mixed day schools and 90 per cent survival rate at girls' boarding schools". For a while, it seemed as if a policy was evolving to get girls increasingly into separate boarding schools. This has not proven practical and the policy is not being pursued.

In teacher training colleges, one-third of all places are reserved for women. In addition, the Ministry is trying, through improved career counselling, to broaden the range of job opportunities which girls see as open to them. Girls still tend to select from a very narrow range, mainly teaching, nursing and secretarial jobs. There is a widespread feeling among girls that many careers are open to men only and that certain subjects essential to certain types of careers, for example mathematics and the sciences, are masculine subjects in which they need not take much interest. The Ministry is making a deliberate effort to bring in an increasing variety of outside speakers in order to encourage secondary school girls to break out of the very restricted and traditional female career pattern.

D. Community Development and Local Government

Investment in Home Economics

There are four Ministries responsible for training women in home economics related courses. Local Councils employ homecraft workers (HCWs), Community Development employs female community development assistants (CDAs), Agriculture has farm home assistants and Health hires maternal and child health assistants. Here only the homecraft workers and community development assistants are considered, although it must be kept in mind that the training and function of these four groups of women overlap.

The homecraft workers (of whom there are about 400 in the field) are appointed and paid by the Local Councils. They are trained by the Ministry of Community Development and supervised by the 30 or so female community development assistants. This supervision forms a major part of the work of the female community development assistants.

As the research for this report was beginning, a fairly detailed study on the homecraft workers and female community development assistants was being completed by Dr. B. Williams, Director of the Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi. Various officials questioned about his study confirmed his findings. The findings were reconfirmed by the Karonga Agricultural Development Division's workshop on women. The sorts of problems consistently mentioned were: a serious shortage of female community development assistants and homecraft workers, drop-out rate of these women, particularly the homecraft workers; the overconcentration of female community development assistants in urban areas; the lack of transport to extend coverage and to improve supervision; the poor locations for holding classes; a lack of materials and ingredients for demonstration purposes; slow recruitment processes to training institutions; the Local Councils' financial inability to pay higher salaries or employ more homecraft workers; a lack of incentives for homecraft workers including poor accommodation, low salaries and lack of opportunities for promotion.

1. Co-ordination at the Centre: With four Ministries operating in roughly the same area, there is an urgent need at headquarters to get together and work out ways to avoid duplication, to divide responsibilities and to strengthen their programmes through co-operation.

2. Co-ordination at District Level: With the backing of their Ministries, co-ordination at district level should be strengthened and the practical mechanisms and procedures of co-ordination worked out: for example, proper record keeping to avoid the constant retraining of the same women by different departments; the sharing of training facilities and transport; combining present courses in order to make best use of the trainers, etc.

3. Food Production: With the decision by the Ministry of Agriculture to increase the agricultural content of their home economics-oriented courses, the Ministries of Community Development and Local Government must. decide if this is a change they should adopt or whether they should continue with the same emphases as before.

4. The Nature of the Homecraft Programme: At various levels the programme needs some rethinking and evaluation. Questions need to be asked about whether it provides the training that women really need or want, what lasting effect it has and which aspects of the course are more useful than others. Some basic questions need to be asked about the influence the programme has on stereotyping women as homemakers and restricting their learning experiences to this field and its effects on diverting women (trainers and trainees) from other activities.

5. Upgrading Homecraft Workers: A broader, more productively-based programme which assists women in participating more effectively in all aspects of community and economic life should be encouraged. This means that the programme should be strengthened and improved, not undermined, for the homecraft workers come closer to the rural people than most government personnel and access to their courses (while still limited) is more open to the public than other programmes. Local Councils appear not to have the resources to assist them. The objective of improving their training and their conditions of service should not be lost sight of, however.

6. New Types of Programmes: Community Development has committed itself to encouraging income-generating activities among women's groups. A few modest experiments have been begun and these are being closely observed.

7. Role of Female Community Development Assistants: There was a difference of opinion on this issue. Some officials saw the tasks of female and male community development assistants as basically the same, with small differences in emphasis. Other saw their tasks as separate, with women responsible for supervising homecraft workers and running their own home management programmes and men responsible for adult literacy, community development and construction projects.

The argument in favour of separation contended that the home and the family must be given attention first, since it is pointless to strengthen community structures and facilities when there are still serious deficiencies in terms of family health nutrition, sanitation,

child care, etc. It was thought that female community development assistants should be responsible for imparting knowledge on those topics. It was also argued that women are less adept at construction and that men in the villages would resent receiving advice on building from a woman, since building is a man's job.

The opposing view was that women community development assistants should be fully involved in all aspects of community development. It was argued that women are less qualified in construction because they are excluded from the practical aspects of this part of their training. As there is sometimes a shortage of male community development assistants in some districts, it was thought that female community development assistants should be able to take over all their tasks. The Ministry's policy on paper is that there should be a sharing of responsibilities but in practice there is extensive role segregation.

E. Community Development: the Adult Literacy Programme

The Adult Literacy Programme was not originally intended as a women's programme but 90 per cent of the participants are women. The Ministry, with the assistance of foreign advisers, is at present in the process of designing a programme which has a specifically functional content. Depending on the area and the target group, the courses will deal in different languages with different crops and with nutrition, home care, etc. The idea is to integrate the project into three established agricultural development programmes. Potentially, this undertaking could prove useful to women.

There is a danger, however, that this will turn into yet another course in home economics for women. The officer responsible said she was aware of this and the intention was to provide broader course content for women. She did point out, however, that courses had to respond to local people's interests or they would fail from the start and if women showed interest in home economics, this would have to be taken into account.

F. Health

This Ministry placed considerable stress on the health needs of women, in developing maternity wings of hospitals, maternity sections of clinics and mother and child clinics. This is not considered a woman's programme, however. One senior official put is as follows: "These programmes are aimed at the most vulnerable groups and these happen to be mothers who are pregnant and who have just given birth and children under five years of age. Women are biologically and physically vulnerable at this stage and therefore they get greater care". In practice, clinics take a broader view and use the opportunity of mothers' visits with their children to educate women about nutrition, health and homecraft. Homecraft workers are expected to assist at clinics and to help with follow-up visits.

The Ministry is also involved in environmental health and cooperates with the Department of Lands, Evaluation and Water in the construction of self-help protected water supply schemes. District health inspectors identify needs at village level, help with the establishment of village health committees and look for financial support from the District Development Committees and donors. Again this is not specifically seen as aimed at women. Yet it is of direct

relevance to them as the ones responsible for water collection, family health and hygiene.

G. Labour

Except for one legislative act intended to protect women from certain types of work, for example mining and night-shift work, the Ministry of Labour appears to have no policy towards women. The view of officials was that there is no discrimination in employment or job opportunities and therefore no need for a special policy on women. Accordingly, the Ministry does not collect employment and wage figures, nor does it analyse employment and wage patterns and trends according to sex.

This means that in negotiations on conditions of employment no special attention is given to wemen. (An exception is that on some estates women are supposed to work six hours instead of eight hours a day). No women are represented on any of the individual committees and umbrella organizations like the Wages Advisory Board, the Employers' Consultative Association and the Trade Union Council.

H. Justice

The Justice Department does not undertake research on existing logislation and other binding legal arrangements (for example under customary law) to determine whether there is any discrimination against women. It also does not have a procedure, in the drafting of legislation, for submitting drafts to any agency or persons to assess their impact on women; in fact there is no agency component to do this.

One officer in the Department had been requested (by someone in another ministry who was preparing for a international seminar) to look into existing legislation. She went through the laws governing inheritance, property, migration, civil marriages and minimum wages and reported no evidence of discrimination. Further research would be useful not only on these laws but also on others, their impact on women in practice, judicial interpretations and the complex area of customary law.

I. Local Government

The Ministry of Local Government is concerned with two areas relating specifically to women. These are encouraging the election of women to Local Councils and the employment of homecraft workers by Local Councils.

J. Social Welfare

This Ministry does not have any particular policy towards women, despite the image it has among other ministries of being concerned with women's affairs. Its work with juveniles, problem families and the handicapped are intended equally for men and women. At Magomere, training is provided for handicapped men and there are advanced plans for a National Rehabilitation College to provide training for either 100 men and 60 women or 60 men and 40 women. The Bangwe weaving factory employs both men and women, while the tie-dye project is intended mainly for women. There is one programme which is intended

to assist women and as it grows it may effectively do so: this involves the setting up of pre-school play groups which may help to free urban women from some of their domestic responsibilities and enable them to get jobs and particpate more actively in non-domestic activities.

K. Youth

Senior officials in the Ministry of Youth and Sport said that since there is no discrimination against women, they saw no need for any policy towards women. There is in fact an interesting training programme for women which falls under the purview of this Ministry - the Malawi Young Pioneers programme.

Although the minimum age for recruitment is set at about 16 or 17, generally women who are a bit older are selected. This is because maturer women are said to be less easily tempted to go to towns after they have completed their courses. The organization prefers to choose women who do not have any further opportunity for education and this is an important aspect of their programme. The women's basic training of 10 months duration is similar although not identical to men's and is aimed at making them more useful and self-reliant. The emphasis is on agriculture but there are many other elements in the course: physical training and drill, history, political education, adult literacy, home economics, civics, finance and administration, first aid, construction, shoemaking and repairing.

The organization does not undertake to provide jobs at the end of the course. Some of those who complete the course stay on for advanced training while some continue with courses run by the Malawi Young Pioneers on driving, secretarial and tailoring skills. Some go on to the Thuchila Farm Institute for further training in agriculture. Some go to agricultural settlement schemes, while others go back to their villages where they are expected to help their families and act as examples to the village farmers. By 1980, 34,395 men and 4,140 women had been trained. As regards the evaluation of the programme, the approach of the organization is that as long as those who have completed the course are working, whether in farms, towns or homes, they are doing something useful.

L. Civil Service Employment

There are very few women in the Civil Service at middle or senior levels. In the last few years there has been an improvement with one woman becoming Deputy Secretary in the Public Service Commission, one becoming Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Social Welfare, and a few obtaining superscale and other senior positions, particularly in the Ministries of Community Development and Education.

A number of women felt that they are discriminated against in the Civil Service when it comes to promotions and also because married women are prevented from attaining permanent status. They also complained of men failing to take them seriously and of men's undermining rather than encouraging them at meetings. Other women felt there is no discrimination except for the ruling on married women which is being looked into. All of the men interviewed argued that there is no discrimination and that in terms of the numbers of women

in the Civil Service they are actually getting a higher proportion of promotions than men. It was acknowledged by all that there are very few women in the Civil Service but this was blamed on the educational system which produces so few qualified women. It was also asserted that women are hindered by their domestic and biological responsibilities. The counterargument, which a few women raised, was that men should take on a few more domestic duties, that the Civil Service should adopt a more understanding attitude towards maternity leave and that the Civil Service should be more encouraging to women, particularly married women, who wished to pursue a Civil Service career.

The Public Service Commission itself has no policy on women. A senior officer pointed out that since there is no discrimination, there is no need for any such policy. It is interesting to note, however, that since the Commission has introduced written examinations as the basis for promotion, thus reducing the influence of personal prejudice, women have been more successful in gaining promotion.

At the commencement of the study, women complained that maternity leave was inadequate and unpaid and that married women were prevented from working on permanent terms. The disadvantages of temporary terms are many and effect conditions such as the period of notice, pension schemes, housing, security and promotion. Recently, this has been changed. Maternity leave has been extended to three months, although it remains unpaid and married women may now have permanent status on the condition that they agree to go wherever they are sent. Men are also required to agree to those terms. Nevertheless, taking into account the very strong pressures on a married woman to either remain with or follow her husband, it remains questionable whether the new regulation will operate fairly. It is an improvement but its application and impact will need to be observed.

IV. Recommendations

The recommendations made below are made in the full realization that those to whom they are directed are very busy people, some of whom have given thought to these issues and all of whom are far more actually aware of the capacities and potentialities of their departments than any outsider can ever be. In broad terms, the recommendations' aim is to: heighten consciousness about women throughout Government; broaden and strengthen the information base on which policies towards women can be determined; increase women's participation at all levels of policy making and planning; expand the rather narrow perspective many officials still have of the role of women in society; increase sensitivity towards women at the level of contact between

Government and the public and create structures and procedures which will eventually ensure that women and women's issues become more fully and advantageously integrated into the planning process. The recommendations are intended to be:

1. Incremental, in that they take matters from where they are (and this varies from ministry to ministry) and try to improve on them, rather than suggesting dramatic new structures and reforms;

2. Realistic, in that they are feasible and practical responses to problems identified and new directions anticipated;

3. Inexpensive, in so far as it is assumed that neither the Central Government nor Local Councils would be willing to make large-scale investments in new departments;

4. Partial, since they neither provide a grand plan, nor are comprehensive;

5. Participative, in the sense that they result from on-going discussions on these issues and in the hope that they will become part of those on-going discussions ;

6. Of a relatively short time perspective, so that they will need to be observed, adapted and updated in a continuing process.

1. Agriculture

Extension to "non-Progressive" Farmers

Farmers who do not take credit or/and who are not farming hybrid maize purestand or are not predominantly cash crop- oriented are not necessarily lazy or backward as they are often considered in official quarters. Very often they are hard working and have plenty of initiative and wisdom. Lack of resources or an understandable caution may prevent them from moving in directions which the Ministry of Agriculture requires. These farmers must surely be the most important providers of food for the people of the country. A very

high proportion of women farmers, household heads and those who in effect are farming on their own fall into this caregory. Given that the commitment of the Ministry to cash crop production is strong, it is suggested that there should be some modest change of emphasis in extension strategy, one which requires extension officers to give some set portion of their time each month to the service of this type of farmer. The overt aim should not be to press these farmers to increase production, grow cash crops or take credit. The aim should be to solve their problems and answer their questions concerning matters such as why beans fail, whether anything can be done about Newcastle disease, when fertilizer should be applied and which kind, etc. This would require advance publicity, a gradual building up of confidence and a new style of extension.

Increased Extension to Women Farmers

The extent to which women contribute to agricultural production is well established and acknowledged by all. The Ministry's extension strategy should respond to this reality and field officers should make increasing contact with women farmers, including commercially- oriented women farmers, women household heads and wives of commercially and non-commercially oriented male farmers. In the latter two cases, contact may be made jointly with the husband and wife, paying all necessary respect to the husband but ensuring that the wife is present, involved and understands fully the advice and encouragement being given. In addition to visits to individual farms, extension officers should encourage women to join farmers' clubs, mixed or separate; pay special attention to women at larger meetings and demonstrations; provide regular input to homecraft worker classes, etc.

Alterations to Extension Officers' Report Forms

To ensure that the officers make the above changes, small alterations in their regular report forms should be made. Numbers filled in (e.g. of those attending a meeting) should always be divided into men and women. There should be a section added on the small non-commercially oriented farmer referred to above; the problems which were not solved should all be reported on. Working effectively, this system will provide Research and Evaluation Divisions with useful insights into the problems experienced by small farmers including men and women. It would also assist in creating an early warning system on future food shortages. Extension officers should also be requested to report on successful undertakings or experiments carried out by these farmers which might be advantageously applied elsewhere.

Training of Women Farmers in Agriculture

Training policy is still based on a perception of rural women as housewives. In keeping with women's full participation in agricultural production, general agriculture should be taught to women in far greater numbers than at present. Women should be encouraged to take an interest in those courses and husbands should permit their wives to attend. It should be left to the divisions to decide whether women should attend mixed or separate courses. The women's

programme policy paper refers to an initial goal of 30 per cent participation by women. In the medium term, that is a fairly reasonable target but once reached it should be reconsidered. For training must be seen not merely as a mechanical transfer of knowledge. Training shows an acknowledgement of people's contribution, an interest in them and a realization that they have the potential to do better. So it is both incentive and reward and if well handled, the learning process itself should be both useful and encouraging.

Changing the Role of Women Field Officers

This change, suggested in the women's programme policy, should be strongly supported. Women in rural areas do have very important responsibilities in caring for the home and family. But their needs in this respect are being attended to by the Ministries of Community Development, Local Government and Health and by various private organizations. It seems inappropriate for the Ministry of Agriculture to employ another four categories of trained women to the same end. Rather, their primary emphasis should be on agriculture and at least some of their time should be spent in the field away from training centres. There are many reasons for this: amongst others, they are qualified in agriculture; there is a shortage of qualified men extension officers; it may help overcome some of the difficulties in communicating with women farmers and it would be advantageous to the officers' own career prospects.

There is a need for caution as regards farm home assistants, however. Some of these women do not have adequate training or have long forgotten what they learned and are not in a position to provide helpful advice to farmers. These women will need to be individually assessed, and only those who are ready should be encouraged to move into agricultural training and extension. The others will require thorough refresher courses.

Income-generating and Other Group Activities

Suggestions regarding income-generation groups for women will be dealt with below. While the points made there are relevant here, it is important to stress that the Ministry of Agriculture should emphasize undertakings related to food production. In addition, the formation of women's groups should be encouraged for purposes of receiving agricultural advice and training.

Reorientation and Refresher Courses for Men and Women Extension Officers

The recommendations made so far will require some new methods, new expertise and an alteration in approach. It is important that courses should be held to explain these innovations to extension workers, to discuss them fully and to encourage a positive attitude towards them.

Speeding up Recruitment to Agricultural Colleges

The numbers of women entering and completing courses at Thuchila and Colby Colleges is minimal. One reason for this is the long delay before advertisements for the course go out and between application and recruitment. During this period many women applicants, and certainly those with better school results and more initiative, take jobs elsewhere. Programme managers and Ministry of Agriculture officials need to meet with the Public Service Commission, whose responsibility this is to work out ways to speed up the process.

Women as a Criterion in Assessing and Evaluating Projects

The Ministry's Planning Division and the Evaluation Division of the Agricultural Development Division should include impact on women as an important criterion to be applied in the assessment of new project proposals and in the later monitoring and evaluation of project implementation. This involves asking different types of questions, altering the design of questionnaires and surveys and including new indicators for measuring the costs and benefits of projects. It may be that the Ministry, in co-operation with the National Statistics Office, might wish to seek outside advice on this. Alternatively, it might wish to do this internally, with the Planning Division consulting with the Evaluation Division. Evaluation Officers seem interested and ready to try.

The Ministry of Overseas Development in London has produced a checklist of questions which provides a useful basis on which to work. The checklist includes questions on the project's stated objectives with regard to women; involvement of women at various levels in project design and preparation and anticipated impact of the project. For example how will the project affect women's access to economic assets and cash incomes? How will the project affect women's allocation of time? Is the project likely to have any adverse consequences for women?

A Woman Planner in the Ministry

It seems essential that a Ministry which deals with so vital a part of the economy (a part in which women play so significant a role) should have at least one or two women in the Planning Division. These women should not only have the required postgraduate qualifications but should also be familiar with women's issues in agriculture and methods of ensuring that women's interests are taken into account in project formulation and that women's impact is monitored in evaluation. In the meanwhile, one or two officers in the Division should be given responsibility for women's issues and for taking necessary steps to increase data and focus attention on women in agriculture.

A.D.D. Evaluation Units to Commence Collecting and Analysing Data on Women

The Evaluation Units in the eight Agricultural Development Divisions should be requested to seek out information on women in their areas which is available but is not being used, as well as the results coming in from the National Sample Survey of Agriculture.

They should also be asked to consider and make recommendations about new questions for their regular surveys and, if they have time, to undertake special, small-scale surveys of women. Based on in-depth interviews which take account of women's special circumstances (for example the multiple tasks they perform), these may or may not generate data which would satisfy the statisticians. They will, however, provide very valuable information for the policy maker.

Observe and Support the Phalombe Experiment

The Phalombe Rural Development Project in the south has undertaken an interesing and valuable experiment. It has employed a full-time female agriculturalist to carry out practically-oriented research on women farmers in the project area. She has been given support in the way of personnel and the time to carry out intensive interviews and based on her findings. She is now beginning to try to find ways to enhance women's productivity. The manner in which the research has been conducted and the extent to which women farmers themselves have been involved are important, not just the findings. In addition to giving this exercise its support and observing its effects, the Ministry and the Project should give it the time necessary for patient and careful trials.

Observe and Support the Karonga Experiment

A different kind of process has been set in motion by the Karonga Agricultural Development Division in the north. At the Programme Manager's initiative, a week-long Workshop on Women's Programmes was held. The Ministries of Agriculture, Community Development and Health as well as local authorities were represented and recommendations for improving the situation of women farmers were presented and recommendations for improving the situation of women farmers were agreed to. These related to co-ordination and strengthening of existing programmes; increased agricultural extension and training for women; income-generating activities for women's groups; evaluation and research into activities directed towards women; increased village-level representation and participation by women; new ways of reaching women in remote areas; horticultural development and development of local materials. The spirit of cooperation between different ministries and the interest shown were encouraging. There was also considerable enthusiasm for group income-generating activities. These should be supported but very carefully controlled, in order to avoid errors and consequent disappointments.

Check Extension Aid Materials

Those in charge of producing and presenting visual aid material to farmers should be made aware of these new approaches to women. It is possible that the materials being used rigidify stereotypes which discourage the positive involvement of women in agriculture. When making or purchasing new films or other materials, this should be kept in mind.

2. Economic Planning, Development and Rural Development Divisions

Women as a Criterion in Assessing and Evaluation Projects and Programmes

This point is similar to the one made above. All three of these agencies need to recognize that impact on women must be a factor integral to the objectives of most projects. A directive to this effect needs to go out to the ministries which will then be able to begin preparing projects with this in mind. The sort of checklist suggested for the Ministry of Agriculture can, with adaptations, serve as a useful guideline for other Ministries.

Responsibility for Women's Issues

At least one officer in either the Economic Planning Division or the Development Division should be given the task of establishing criteria for project evaluation, advising ministries on these, ensuring they are taken into account and beginning to build up a monitoring system. The officer should also establish contact with the National Statistics Office for purposes of generating the sort of data planners need to include women's interest in their projects. This does not need to be a woman at first but the aim over the next few years should be to bring in a well-qualified woman to do this job.

Secretariat for the Women's Co-ordinating Committee

Below it will be suggested that a co-ordinating committee on women's affairs should be established. A women's affairs officer in the Economic Planning Division (most sensibly, this should be the same person as suggested in the previous paragraph) would be strategtegically placed to serve as secretariat and technical and economic adviser to such a committee. This link would enhance the input by senior women into the planning process and also strengthen their deliberations with necessary planning and economic expertise.

3. Education

Realization of the Extent and Nature of the Problem

Next to what are referred to as cultural or traditional barriers and attitudes, one of the most basic constraints on women's progress is their lack of education. This is a fundamental block to the full involvement of women in productive activities of all kinds and the participation of women in decision making at all levels. The Ministry of Education, as a matter of policy, should acknowledge that this problem in its broadest terms is a key issue to which research and planning must give attention.

Retain Bias in Favour of Girls at Secondary Schools

Given the problems girls face in successfully completing primary school, this bias makes sense. The one-third ratio should be maintained in the meanwhile, neither raised nor lowered. While this affirmative action is helpful, it does not of course get to the basics of the problem, and this is the purpose of the recommendations made in the next three paragraphs.

Responsibility in the Planning Division

As a formal part of its terms of reference, the Ministry's Planning Division should be given responsibility for studying the predicament of girls and women in relation to the education system, analysing statistics that are available and initiating research into the influence of the wider social environment on female education. Only on the basis of such findings can the Ministry begin to formulate policies aimed at solving some of these problems.

Research on Drop-outs

There is a good deal of conventional wisdom on this subject and the Ministry's planners have been preparing a questionnaire on it. Both in its design and its analysis, this study should be given the attention it deserves. While the questionnaire is aimed at both boys and girls, it should throw a good deal of light on the reasons for girls leaving school prematurely. It should also indicate how the Ministry of Education and other ministries and agencies, such as the Party, can assist.

Research on Female Resistance to Certain Subjects

Research should also be conducted into the causes of girls's lack of interest or resistance to certain school subjects such as mathematics and science. These are, of course, complicated issues involving parental and social expectations, peer group attitudes and the anticipated requirements of post-school masculine and feminine careers. Those obstacles for which the education system itself is responsible should be identified, for example, the extent to which teachers' attitudes, preconceptions and teacher training encourage or allow this to occur.

The quality and content of girls' education is as important as the number who pass. Scientific expertise and quantitative techniques are increasingly required in today's world and girls' exclusion from these basic courses will ensure their continued exclusion from many professionally and technically-oriented careers.

Career Guidance

The Ministry accepts this as one of its tasks, both in bringing outsiders to speak to female pupils and by appointing teachers at schools to be responsible for this function. This should be built on and refined. The Ministry should set out to ensure that all able and talented young women know that their career choice is far more open than general social conventions lead them to assume.

There is a question as to whether this advice is being given at an early enough stage. It seems that at present it is given when the girls have selected subjects, which means they are already restrted. It may also be worth investigating whether all the teachers who are responsible for giving advice have the time, the knowledge and the information to do this effectively.

Guard against Hidden Curriculum

A considerable degree of stereotyping of sex roles can be found in school textbooks. The values and attitudes which pupils absorb from these reinforce the sorts of problems girls face in taking more effective advantage of their schooling and later operating more competitively and equally with men in the economy. Rather than purging old textbooks, instructions should go out to those selecting new texts to choose books that are less full of such stereotypes.

Village Level Propaganda

The Party and other agencies have proven effective in encouraging parents to send girls to school. Discussions should be held with all such agencies and government departments which might be able to help, to devise a strategy to encourage parents to leave their daughters in school for as long as possible. For example, homecraft workers, community development assistants, agricultural trainers, etc. could all be asked to devote a short talk every now and then to this topic.

National Workshop on Women in Education

There are enough issues of urgent importance in the field of women and education in its broadest terms to warrant a well-planned national workshop or conference. This would include not only the Ministry of Education but all other ministries which have their own training institutions, such as Community Development. Health, Agriculture (e.g., of 500 graduates from Nikolongwe Veterinary School over the years there has not been one woman): Youth, etc. Such a workshop would look not only at schools but also at other institutions, literacy campaigns and the broader social factors affecting women's education.

4. Community Development

Enhance the Effectiveness of Magomero Training College

While this institution has played a valuable role in the training of community development assistants and homecraft workers, serious thought needs to be given to various aspects of its training programme. Among questions which should be considered are: recruitment procedures (in which the Public Service Commission should also be included), relevance of course content to new and changing needs, teaching qualifications of the training staff, length of courses, gaps between courses when facilities are not being used, etc. The Williams Report (see above) makes a number of suggestions which should be considered. There have been earlier reports, such as the Butler Report, which also deserve attention.

There are additional questions that need asking. For example, if income-generating activities are to become more important, should not students have some introduction to marketing, accounting and business methods? If agricultural production is to be a more important component of courses given to rural womenm should not the students at Magomero learn more agriculture? If there are new, broader approaches to nutrition education, have these been included in the course content? If there is an objective of increasing meaningful participation by women on village level committees, are the students being coached (and sensitized) in techniques of encouraging this effectively?

Leadership Training Programmes for Women

Based on responses to questionnaires sent out to people at district level, leadership training for women at district, subdistrict and village level emerges as an essential prerequisite to improved participation by women. The Ministry does, of course, take responsibility for this type of training at various centres in the country. But if women's abilities to contribute to public discussion are to improve, serious consideration has to be given to ways of rapidly expanding this programme. For example, it may be useful to let male and female community development assistants contribute training sessions on leadership during courses for women organized by agriculture and homecraft workers. If increasing numbers of women are to be brought onto all committees, as will be suggested, this demand will continue to grow.

More Women on Village Level Committees

There are numerous kinds of committees at the village level and the scope of responsibilities, degree of permanence and patterns of participation vary widely; there are school committees, village self-help committees, literacy committees, action groups, health committees, committees specifically set up to combat a particular disease, etc. Oral and written responses reflect varied answers about women's representation on these committees and there are clearly large differences between one area and another. In some districts, women are not represented at all on any of these committees.

A policy decision should be taken at the highest level by all ministries which help set up these committees that at least two or three women should serve on all committees. Until such time as they are elected, they should be appointed. The matters considered and decided upon by the committees are too important to the community for women's views to be overlooked. In addition, the ministries should direct their field staff to encourage and assist women to participate fully in these deliberations.

Improved Supervision of Homecraft Workers

Transport is a major problem here. A policy decision should be taken at headquarters by those ministries concerned, directing their district level officers to find ways of co-operating in the use of vehicles. The Ministry of Community Development is severely limited by lack of funds for transport and needs the help of the other ministries, particularly the Ministry of Agriculture. As the

district level, the practical mechanisms for putting this into practice could then be worked out. Such co-operation does exist already. A top-level directive and some carefully worked out district level procedures ae needed to make it operate better.

Alter Emphasis of Female Community Development Assistants' Work

Women community development assistants are too involved in home management courses and supervision of homecraft workers and are therefore unable to devote much attention to community development. This homecraft role should be retained but an effort should be made to involve these women to a greater extent in the core work of community development: leadership, organization, construction, self-help, etc. This is important for a number of reasons: it sets a good example to women in the villages; their presence may assist and encourage village women to take on committee responsibilities; it will advance the officers' own career development as they will be engaged in a greater variety of tasks and it will strengthen women's input into the Ministry's district and regional-level annual planning process.

Income-generating Activities

The idea of encouraging women's groups to pursue co-operatively income-generating activities is rapidly gaining ground in the Ministries of Community Development and Agriculture. A few experiments are under way. Four groups, in baking, sewing, hybrid maize and vegetables, appear to be succeeding under close supervision and under rather special circumstances. This should be supported but carefully phased.

First, there should be a short course to explain the purpose, techniques and dangers in establishing income-generating co-operatives. Then each farm home assistant or homecraft worker should be given a period to discuss the possibility with her groups to see if any activity can be identified. The proposals of those groups which do wish to try should then be carefully studied before the go-ahead is given and their progress closely observed. Income-generation always depends on a reliable market and it must therefore be understood that this sort of exercise will succeed in only a limited number of places. Food production projects (e.g., horticulture, poultry and food crops) are best, both in terms of national priorities and because these commodities have alternative uses if not sold. Credit should be available to aid the establishment of these group enterprises.

Women's Component of the Functional Literacy Programme

It is clear from women's response to this programme over the years (and also from discussions with women farmers near Zomba) that this programme fills a popular need. The functional literacy concept is an improvement on the old programme. Three points need to be made. Care should be taken to prevent these courses for women from becoming yet another level of homecraft training. Since the functional literacy experiment will take some time before it begins to affect many women, the rest of the programme should not be ignored. The Ministry should look into the reasons why the small subvention to

pay teachers was stopped and see if it can recommence. A programme of this nature is unlikely to be a great success even if the course content is better, if it is based entirely on voluntary efforts.

5. Local Government

More Women on Local Councils

There is strong support among women councillors and council clerks for an increase in the number of women on councils. Before the next elections, greater efforts should be made to educate both men and women about the importance of electing women and of identifying women who are able to stand for election. Should this not yield results, councils should be directed to co-opt a few women onto councils. There should be a minimum of three women on each council.

Participation by Women Teachers and Other Civil Servants

Government employees are prevented from serving on Local Councils. The possibility of permitting them to stand for election should be studied since this would certainly increase the number of educated women available to serve on Local Councils.

Co-opt Women onto Council Committees

In almost all cases women are underrepresented on councils. Councils should therefore be encouraged to seek out and co-opt able and appropriately qualified and experienced women onto council committees. This would provide the council with women's views in various areas for which they bear responsibility and would give these women useful experience in local Government.

Training of Women Councillors

Training was identified as one of the most important requirements for enhancing the contribution of those women who are elected to councils. The Ministry should discuss with the Ministry of Community Development ways of improving the content of the course and increasing the number of women who are trained.

Improving Homecraft Workers' Conditions

Although local councils are not in a position to increase expenditure on this programme, attention must be given to several areas. Among these are the content of the homecraft workers training at Magomero, especially since the course has been expanded from three to six months; creating a career structure, even a modest one, to provide some incentive for these women to remain in their jobs and do well; giving them permanent terms with a pension at the end; improving both their homes and the venues they use for training, through self-help or Youth Week projects and with the support of District Development Committees; providing them with materials and ingredients to use in their courses and improving reporting and response procedures between homecraft workers and their supervisors.

Additional Elements in Homecraft Courses

These courses are intended as home management courses and this is what women participants expect and want them to be. So while the basic thrust of these courses should remain, consideration should be given to adding a few new elements to these courses such as short lectures on leadership and community participation, new ideas on nutrition, agricultural production and possibilities for generating income through group activities. Some of these may be taught by the homecraft workers themselves, after refresher courses, and others may be taught by field officers of other ministries assisting at occasional classes.

Monitoring the Effects of the Programme

There is a clear need for the Ministry to find ways of evaluating this programme. Some people argued that it was working and used attendance figures in support of their position; others said it was failing because after years and years, results were not apparent. Except for attendance records, there appear to be no other indicators of effectiveness. The lasting or positive effect of these courses or specific aspects of these courses, the reasons women try some of the things they have learned and not others, the participants' evaluation of the courses, etc. are not being evaluated. If local councils are to consider investing more of their limited funds in this programme, they need this kind of information.

6. Labour

Recognition of Women as an Issue for Attention

It is suggested that this Ministry should seriously consider giving issues relating to women's employment in the private sector the attention they deserve. Experience in other countries has demonstrated that the assumptions made by the Ministry are often invalid. While legislation and official policy may try to ensure equality of opportunity and earnings for both sexes, invariably this does not work out in practice and women are discriminated against. Three suggestions concerning this problem follow below.

Collect Data on Women in the Private Sector

In order to get a better understanding of patterns and trends in women's employment, the Ministry should strive to build up its data base on women. In submitting returns to the Ministry, employees should be required to supply information in a form which distinguishes men and women and shows types and levels of employment and earnings. There is also a substantial amount of information on employment of men and women in the population censuses which may be advantageously analysed.

A More Active Research Policy

Experience elsewhere has shown that employers frequently do not satisfy all the conditions of labour legislation and agreements or that they use loopholes in such legislation in order to defeat its

purpose. Women doing the same job as men are placed in lower job categories and paid less.

In Malawi after five years of service on some estates, all employees are entitled to severance pay. This is equal in theory but given that in a period of five years it is very likely that a women will need to take maternity leave, does this requirements remain equal in practice? These sorts of issues deserve attention. The Ministry should therefore take an active role in investigating conditions of women's employment in practice.

Involve Women in Negotiations

No women are involved in labour negotiations on behalf of particular groups of workers or employers or umbrella worker or employer organizations. The Ministry cannot be blamed for this but it does represent a weakness in the negotiating process. The Ministry should appoint a woman representative to participate and worker committees which represent both men and women should be required to include one or two women.

7. Justice

Study Relevant Laws

All laws which may have an effect on the position of women such as those relating to marriage, contracts, wills and property require thorough researching in order that the Justice Department can assure that there is no discrimination against women. The position of women in customary law is also worth attention.

Refer Bills for Comment by Women

In the drafting of bills or amendments of concern to women, it should become procedure for these documents to be referred to competent women or a suitable women's agency. There are two qualified female lawyers in the country and they should be consulted. Further, once a co-ordinating committee on women is established, bills should be submitted to it for comment. One or both of these women lawyers can serve as advisers to the committee on legal and legislative matters.

8. Youth (Malawi Young Pioneers)

Evaluate Effectiveness of the Programme

The impact of a training programme of this size (34,000 people were trained by 1980) should be evaluated more carefully than at present. It would be useful to know where course completers have gone, what work they are doing, what parts of the training have proven more useful than others, what suggestions they may have for improving the course, etc. A small sum in the recurrent budget should be allocated for evaluation.

Increase Female Intake

In terms of both the economic contribution which women make to the country and the political role they are expected to play, it is advisable that more women should be included in the training programme. By 1980, women constituted about 12 per cent of all completers. This should be raised substantially.

Employment of Women Completers by Other Ministries

The fact that there are approximately 4,000 women graduates of these courses, mostly located in the rural areas, is something of which the Ministries of Agriculture, Local Government and Community Development should take note. (In 13 years, Maqomero has trained just over 1,000 homecraft workers, of whom 440 are still in government service and in 15 years only 82 female community development assistants, of whom 52 still work for the Government). These M.Y.P. women, after a refresher course, may well be able to assist in the homecraft programme or with the work of farm home assistants.

M.Y.P. Women on Settlement Schemes

A certain number of M.Y.P. graduates join agricultural settlement schemes and receive assistance from the organization to do this. In the evaluation of the programme, the question of whether M.Y.P. women are joining these schemes should be asked. If they are not, the reasons for this should be determined.

9. National Statistics Office

Statistical Base for Policy-making on Women

It is basic to the meaningful and effective integration of women's issues into policy making and development planning that the National Statistics Office should begin to produce data on which such policy-making and planning can be based. If the suggestions concernning the appointment of women's affairs officers in the Ministry of Agriculture and in the Economic Planning Division are accepted, these two officers should consult closely with the Statistics Office on the sorts of information they will be needing, while the latter can act as a link between the Statistics Office and the co-ordinating committee on women.

If other ministries begin to take more interest in women than they have previously, they too will be requiring information. Someone in the Statistics Office should be given responsibility for facilitating these contacts and for initiating a study on the requirements and implications of generating more information on women. Officials at the Statistics Office said they were ready to co-operate. They stressed, however, that as a service agency, they needed the initiative to come from the planners.

Research and Consultancy Concerning Data on Women

There was considerable interest in the Statistics Office in paying more attention in the future to collecting and analysing information about women. Two steps need to be taken: to analyse the

information that is already available (from population censuses, National Sample Surveys of Agriculture, etc.) and to redesign on- oing and special surveys to ensure that women are taken into account. The staffing position in the office will determine whether this requires outside advice or not. It is an area where there is both experience and expertise in organizations such as the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization. But the office may prefer to proceed on the basis of discussions held locally inside the office and in consultation with interested ministries.

10. District Development Committees

Increase the Number of Women on Committees

There was strong agreement that this should occur. It would need to be done with care. Some committees have a fairly good representation of women, e.g. Blantyre has 12 and some committees are already very large, e.g. Kasungu has 63 members. There has also been an increase over the years with the League of Malawi Women's representation being increased from one to three, with the recent addition of women MPs and with female government employees finding their way onto these committees. Committees should aim to include at least six women. In addition for reasons explained in chapter two, the should include two women senior civil servants at district level.

Training for Women Members

It was agreed both by the women themselves and by District Commissioners that women's participation would be considerably aided by training courses directed towards them. The Rural Development Divisions in the Office of the President and Cabinet should consult with District Commissioners and the Ministry of Community Development to find ways of responding more effectively to this requirement.

11. A Co-ordinating Committee on Women's Affairs

A number of women suggested that there should be some agency res onsible for looking after women's affairs. Some women expressed doubts as to the need for such an organization, especially if it were elaborate. At present an ad hoc committee has been established to look into this. It is the authors view that there most definitely should be such a committee. There are more than enough issues of concern, to justify the establishment of such a committee. It it should be composed of representatives of those departments and ministries whose responsibilities are relevant including the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Community Development, Local Government, Health, Social Welfare, Youth and Labour and the Economic Planning Division, the Rural Development Division, the Development Division, the Justice Department and prominent women in and outside of the Civil Service.

Not all representatives need to be women. These representatives can define the areas requiring attention within their ministries and then later commence reporting on problems, proposals and progres.. None of the ministries should be conceived of as the women's ministry and therefore the appointment of an executive should be based on

personal leadership abilities and commitment, rather than on representation of one department or other.

Possibly in the future, such a committee may require a more elaborate structure including administration and research sections but in the meantime it is suggested that it be kept as a committee with each member serving unofficially as the committee's representative from his respective ministry. Some degree of permanency and effective back-up is necessary, and it is therefore suggested that there should be a qualified officer in the Economic Planning Division who should serve as permanent secretariat and economic adviser to the committee. It is the author's hope that this study and particularly the recommendations at the end, indicate the areas and issues such a committee could address.

ANNEX I

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Mr. P.J. Allister, Chief Training Officer, Lilongwe Agricultural Development Division

Mr. P.R. Bailey, Assistant Agricultural Credit Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. S.C.W. Banda, District Commissioner, Mulanje

Mr. A.R. Bennett, Evaluation Officer, Karonga Agricultural Development Division

Miss C. Bertrand, Women's Programme Officer, Karonga Agricultural Development Division

Mr. S. Butao, Regional Community Development Officer, Northern Region

Mr. A.N.C. Chadzala, Secretary, Public Service Commission

Mr. M.R. Chanansi, Assistant Community Development Officer, Central Region

Mr. C.L. Chanthunya, Senior Economist, Economic Planning Division

Mr. R.K. Chawinga, Agricultural Project Officer, Mulanje/Thyolo

Mr. S.B.M. Chibangwe, Chairman, Mulanje District Council

Mr. A.C. Chibwana, Rural Development Division, Office of the President and Cabinet

Miss O.B. Chiodotte, Executive Officer, Regional Community Development Office, Central Region

Mr. O.J. Chikwakwa, Agricultural Development Officer, Thyolo North

Mr. Chimalizeni, Chief Labour Officer, Ministry of Labour

Mr. G.R.E.K. Chimwaza, Rural Growth Centre Project, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mr. E.F. Ching'anda, Commissioner for Census and Statistics, National Statistics Office

Mr. G.B. Chirwa, Chief Projects Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. Chiutuli, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour

Mr. H.M.G. Chiwaya, Regional Maternal and Child Health Supervisor, Northern Region Mr. E.I. Chiwewe, Chief Development Officer, Development Division, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mr. J.E. Doughty, Chief Evaluation Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Ms. N. Gibson, Nutrition Programme Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. B.Y.C. Gondwe, Principal Administrative Officer, Local Government

Mrs. C.T. Gonthi, Inspector of Home Economics, Ministry of Education

Mr. F.G. Hara, Regional Community Development Officer, Central Region

Mr. A.J.H. Jere, Ministry of Health

Ms. R. Jones, Planning Unit, Ministry of Education

Mr. E.S. Kabuye, Principal Agricultural Officer, Extension and Training, and later Programme Manager, Mzuzu Agricultural Development Division

Mr. B.N.C. Kachama, Chief Inspector of Schools, Ministry of Education

Mr. F.B. Kachingwe, Clerk of Council, Mulanje District Council

Mrs. L.S. Kachingwe, Inspector of English, Ministry of Education

Mr. L.S. Kadamanja, Senior Field Officer, Land Allocation, Lilongwe Land Development Programme

Miss F. Kaingam, Assistant Community Development Officer (Home Economics), Northern Region

Mrs. E. Kaliati, Under Secretary, Ministry of Social Welfare

Mr. F. Kaluma, Under Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. F.J. Kambeta, Agricultural Development Officer, Mulanje South

Mrs. L.R. Kamtengeni, Senior Community Development Officer (Adult Literacy), Ministry of Community Development and Housing

Mrs. Kamwembe, Head of Girls' Training, Malawi Young Pioneers

Mr. D. Kamwendo, Chief Agricultural Credit Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. F. Kapelemera, Head of Education, Malawi Young Pioneers

Mr. G. Kavalo, Chairman, Malawi Congress Party, Mulanje District

Mrs. L.P. Kholoma, Community Development Officer, Central Region

Mrs. L. Liumia, Assistant Women's Programme Officer, Mzuzu Agricultural Development Division

Dr. G.W. Lungu, Deputy Chief Medical Officer, Ministry of Health

Mr. E.B. Makumba, Agro-Economic Survey, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. E.C. Malindi, Programme Manager, Karonga Agricultural Development Division

Mr. D.J. Malonga, Agricultural Project Officer, Zomba

Mr. D.M. Manda, Senior Community Development Officer, Ministry of Community Development and Housing

Mr. S.B. Manjolo, Town Clerk, Mzuzu Municipal Council

Mr. K. Masongana, Programme Manager, Lilongwe Agricultural Development Division

Mr. B.B. Mawindo, Principal Labour Officer, Ministry of Labour

Mr. R.R. Mdala, Clerk of Council, Zomba District Council

Mr. J. Mhango, Senior Economist, Economic Planning Division, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mrs. R. Mhone, Women's Programme Officer, Karonga Agricultural Development Division

Mrs. N.C. Mipando, Agricultural Credit Officer, Zomba District

Miss J. Mjojo, State Advocate, Ministry of Justice

Mr. W.S. Mlenga, Evaluation Officer, Lilongwe Agricultural Development Division

Mr. M.B. Mlotha, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Youth and Sport

Mrs. J.D. Mowoya, Community Development Assistant, Mzimba North

Mrs. J. Mphande, Company Secretary, Capital City Development Corportation

Mr. M.C. Mphande, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture

Mr. D.L. Mphawa, Assistant Senior community Development Officer (Publications), Ministry of Community Development and Housing

Mr. C.E. Mphaya, Administrative Officer, Development Division, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mr. L Msukwa, Assistant Director, Centre for Social Research, University of Malawi

Miss C. Mthinda, Women's Programme Officer, ministry of Agriculture

Mr. Mughogho, Economist, Ministry of Labour

Mr. A.W.C. Munyimbili, Regional Health Inspector, Northern Region

Mr. M.L. Muwila, Chief Agricultural Development Officer, Ministry of Labour

Mr. S.M.A. Mwakasangula, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Local Government

Mrs. E.C. Ndalama, Community Development Assistant, Regional Community Development Office, Central Region

Mrs. B.J. Nguleti, Farm Home Assistant, Mulanje South

Mrs. P. Ngwira, Bunda College of Agriculture, Chitedze Agricultural Research Station

Mrs. L. Nkhope, Community Development Officer (Home Economics), Northern Region

Mr. H.T. Nkunga, Assistant District commissioner, Mulanje

Mr. K.E.J. Nsanja, Under Secretary, Rural Development Division, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mr. S.N. Nyasulu, Credit Officer, Lilongwe Land Development programme

Mr. Nyirenda, Assistant Chief Labour Officer, Ministry of Labour

Mr. T.K.T. Nirenda, Rural Development Officer, Lilongwe Agricultural Development Division

Mr. A.[illegible]. Phiri, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Youth and Sport

Ms. M. Schellenberg, Rural Growth Centre Project, Office of the President and Cabinet

Mrs. C.E. Sinoya, Senior Community Development Officer (Home Economics), Ministry of Community Development and Housing

Mr. A.A.B. Standen, Assistant Chief Agricultural Development Officer, Ministry of Agriculture

Mrs. L. Thawe, Registrar, Kamuzu college of Nursing

Mrs. A.O. Thundu, Training Officer, Ministry of Education

Miss J. Tseko, Administrative Officer, Ministry of External Affairs

Mr. A.E. Watkins, Evaluation Unit, Mzuzu Agricultural Development Division

Dr. B. Williams, Director, Centre for Social Research, University of Malawi

Mr. D.D. Yiwombe, Assistant Programme Manager, Karonga Agricultural Development Division.

ANNEX II

Methodology

In gathering data and preparing this report the following methods were employed:

1. A number of official documents and reports were studied to draw out background statistics and information. (This information was used mainly in chapter one).

2. Ten planning documents of various kinds were studied as required by the terms of reference. (These were used mainly in chapter three, part one).

3. Interviews with over 90 people in various government departments, at central, regional and district level were carried out. (These were used primarily in chapter two, part one and chapter three, part two.)

4. Four types of questionnaires were sent out to women on Local Councils, to women on District Development Committees, to Clerks of Local Councils and to District Commissioners. In total 89 responses were received. (These were included mainly in chapter two, parts three and four).

5. The author participated in a week-long inter-departmental workshop on women's programmes, organized by the Karonga Agricultural Development Division. A great deal was learned from this and since it was held towards the end of the period of study, the author was able to test and get responses to many of his assessments and sug estions.

6. Interviews were also carried out with women farmers in the Zomba area. This was a relatively informal exercise and too area-specific to rovide data for this report. However, it helped the author to understand a little better the reality of the rural women's situation and also to put questions to officials.